

George W: California GOP Asset or Liability?

california JOURNAL

AUGUST 2001

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How California's teacher shortage short changes kids



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California's Other Crisis.



Lawmakers already are fighting to keep the lights on. Now they're faced with keeping our hospitals open.

The Legislature has the power...

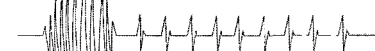
A state law passed in 1994 requires closure of any hospital building that doesn't meet earthquake safety standards by 2008. Compliance with that law will cost an estimated \$10 billion. At least 25 percent of California hospitals don't have the resources to comply, and, according to a new report by Shattuck Hammond Partners, "...a variety of converging 'risk factors' (affecting hospitals) have the potential to trigger a 'crisis' in the near future."

This means closure of some hospitals and huge increases in the cost of care

for government health programs, health insurance plans and employers who pick up the tab for their workers.

The Legislature is considering several options to keep hospitals open and the cost of health care under control. Call your legislators today and let them know that California needs a solution this year.

SEISMIC SHOCK



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Association of California Nurse Leaders
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August 2001

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Teachers count most

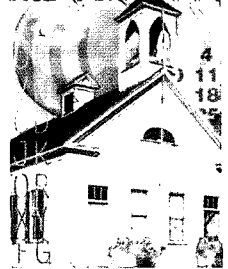
No endeavor is as important to the future of California as the education of her children. As a result, the state's schools have been under a microscope in recent years, with heavy emphasis on reducing class size and improving academic performance. Often lost in the swirl, however, is one overriding truth: the single most important factor in a quality education is the ability of each individual teacher to provide that education. This month, senior editor Emelyn Rodriguez explores California's quest for competent teachers and reveals that access to a good teacher often depends on whether a child is rich or poor, white or brown.

By A.G. Block

Finding enough teachers

Recruiting 300,000 new teachers will be challenge enough, but will they serve where needed most — in schools with the poorest students?

By Emelyn Rodriguez



Mentoring kids

The search is on for one million volunteers to mentor young people, but can meaningful relationships be fostered on the quick?

By Kathleen Les



Stanley Mosk remembered

The longest-serving Supreme Court jurist leaves behind a rich legal legacy.

By Bob Egelko



Energy's Mr. Fix-it

Love him or hate him, S. David Freeman is the man Governor Davis has tapped to shape a new public power authority.

By Richard Nemec



GOP in search of a leader

California Republicans had counted on President Bush to pull them together, but the verdict is out on whether he's a help or a hindrance.

By Dana Wilkie



Cover by Dagmar Thompson

umbrage

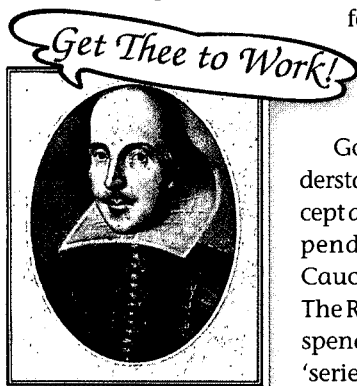
Outta here. Thank you, Assemblyman Lou Papan (D-Millbrae). The Legislature misses the July 1 constitutional deadline for adopting a state budget, but you never flinch in the face of pressure. You grab your bags and jet off to Spain for a 10-day vacation, leaving your Democratic colleagues behind to round up five Republican votes instead of four to pass the budget because of your absence. Wow. And to think you're termed out. How will the state survive after next year without your commitment to public service? Oh, we forgot. Your daughter wants to run for your seat.

Poet, be gone. As lawmakers this summer deleted their way through the state's shrinking budget plan, Republicans discovered something that set their quills on end. Turns out the Resources Agency, under the guidance of Secretary Mary Nichols, had spent thousands of dollars on a series of poetry readings to help *inspire* state employees to do their jobs, according to Senator Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga). In response, Brulte penned a letter to Governor Gray Davis, expressing his iambic displeasure over the use of state funds

for poetic motivation. The letter began "Inspire us, O

Governor, to understand—nay, to accept a government expenditure that our Caucuses find inept. The Resources Agency spending \$15K on a 'series' of verse. How do you rationalize it?

— It seems perverse." The letter went on to insist that no matter how inspiring the poetry might be for state workers, most Californians weren't likely to appreciate the expenditures when others were taking a financial hit. "However inspiring — a personal epiphany, it may well be — it is one that California workers just don't see. As we cut



funding for teachers, students, and the night shift nurse, why does the administration choose to invest in verse?"

On second thought.

One way for Democrats to reduce the chances of another budget stalemate like this year's is to further enlarge their majority in the Assembly — and consequently further shrink the number of Republicans — come the next election. And one of the best chances Democrats have for picking up a Republican seat is in central Orange County where a growing influx of minorities has left the GOP on tenuous ground. Republicans already lost the 69th Assembly District in 1998, thanks in large part to the area's large Latino population going Democratic, and next door in the 68th, Latinos and Asians are increasingly replacing the district's traditional white GOP voters. That spells trouble for Republican Ken Maddox, who twice has won the 68th and is eligible for one more term. But word has it that Maddox may forego his chance at a third term and instead run for a local county seat. If so, Republican leaders may turn to Garden Grove City Councilman Van Tran to step up and try to hold the seat, which includes a sizeable Vietnamese community. Tran says he will wait and see what the seat looks like after Democrats get through reapportioning it before making a decision whether to run next year.

A million here ... We made a teeny, tiny little error in our July 2001 cover story about Democrats and the poor. In defending the Democrats' record, Marc Brown, co-director of the California Housing Law Project, was quoted as saying that Governor Gray Davis "got us over \$5 million in housing money ..." If \$5 million sounds like less than loose change, it is. Brown actually said that "Davis got us over \$500 million ..." Editors regret making the governor look like a piker. 🏠

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The other Condit conundrum

Redrawing California's congressional districts has been tricky enough for Democrats this year, given the pressure to satisfy — or, to pretend to satisfy — all those termed-out legislators looking for a political future in Washington.

Then came Gary Condit.

Instead of a redistricting strategy that assumed the Mcdesto Democrat would easily win an eighth term from the conservative 18th District, Democratic leaders in California and Washington now have to decide whether to abandon Condit and/or his district altogether and recoup the loss elsewhere in the state.

Their intentions should be fairly clear when redistricting proposals are made public in late August or early September. That hasn't, however, stopped a legion of political insiders from tinkering with Central Valley congressional scenarios.

The current registration split in the 18th is 46 percent Democrat, 39 percent Republican, reflecting a continuing decline in Democratic strength. Condit, however, has been winning by significant margins, and political strategists in both parties agree that, absent his current problems, he is the only Democrat who could hold the district as it is now configured.

That raises intriguing questions about both redistricting and political timing, because candidates for state offices and Congress must declare their intent to run in the March 2002 primary by October 29, 2001. If Condit does not seek reelection, the Democrat with the best chance to succeed him is his own political protégé — Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza (D-Merced), who is termed out in 2002.

But Cardoza, whose 26th Assembly District includes portions of Condit's seat, currently is running for a 2002 state Senate seat being vacated by termed-out Republican Richard Monteith. Monteith, in turn, is regarded as a strong contender for the Condit's enclave, should it become vacant and assuming that its boundaries remain roughly as they are.

Thus, Democrats have an interesting set of choices: leave Condit's district alone and gamble that he can survive the scandal; assume — or make certain for the party's sake — that Condit is not a candidate in 2002 and dismember his district to the best advantage; or pressure Condit to

make his 2002 intentions clear before October and pack a redrawn 18th with enough Democratic voters to assure victory for Cardoza.

GOP redistricting expert Tony Quinn is betting that Democrats choose the latter option. That decision, however, would preclude them from rearranging the political map to carve out a new Democratic seat around Sacramento.

University of California, Berkeley, political science professor Bruce Cain, who helped draw past Democratic redistricting plans, says that rearranging the 18th to help Cardoza is the most risk-averse Democratic option, but not the most advantageous for the party. He argues that minimal tinkering with the 18th — moving some GOP voters into neighboring congressional districts now occupied by Republicans George Radanovich and John Doolittle — could create a 47 percent-38 percent Democratic edge in the 18th. That nine-point bulge, Cain contends,

is enough to give Cardoza a decent shot and still leave enough Democrats in the region for a new Valley seat for the party.

The key to any new Democratic seat in the region is the city of Stockton, where many Democrats currently reside in the otherwise safe GOP congressional district held by Richard Pombo. Shifting Stockton Democrats south to CD 18, for example, would create a truly safe seat for Cardoza.

On the other hand, building a new Democratic district in the Stockton area — as opposed to Sacramento — offers congressional opportunities for state Senator Mike Machado, or for Machado's predecessor, Democrat Pat Johnston, who was termed out of the Senate in 2000.

In other words, even absent the Condit mess, Democrats had to choose among competing Central Valley interests. Perhaps making Condit's district extra friendly for another Democrat provides the party and Condit a graceful way out.

One catch.

If Condit is forced to resign before December 7, a special election must be held in the current district. This presumably favors a Republican, who would have a leg up come 2002, even in a completely redrawn district. 🏠

by Susan Rasky



**Even absent the
Condit mess,
Democrats had to
choose among
competing Central
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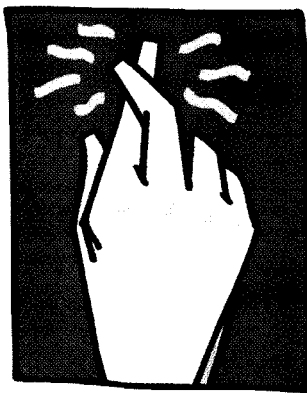
Contributing Editor Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Media Watch:

No more broken promises

The newest addition to the California Voter Foundation's award-winning Web site shines the spotlight on campaign promises — the well intentioned, if not always lasting commitments made by candidates to court voters. In their Archive of Campaign Promises found at calvoter.org, you can view Web site campaign statements made by 31 members of the state Senate, Assembly and Congress who survived closely contested 2000 election battles.

Don't for a minute doubt that the nonpartisan source of voter information isn't on to something. Two years ago, health care advocates called Governor Gray Davis to the mat after research revealed Davis' inattention to health care reform didn't jibe with campaign promises documented by the foundation. In the near future, legislative as well as statewide candidates may be asked to pin down their top priorities before the election for permanent viewing on the foundation's Web site. Broken promises won't go over well with voters come the next election.



Excerpts:

From the bookshelf

**The Political Reference Almanac
2001-2002 Edition**
Compiled by Anthony Quain
PoliSci Books, Keystone Publishing

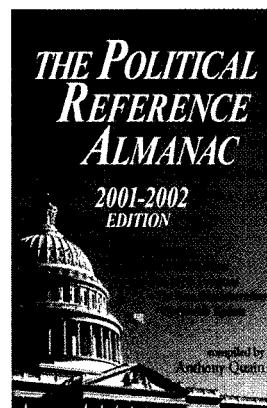
Want to know the name of the chief federal district judge for central Illinois? (Joe Billy McDade) Or when to celebrate Mozambique Independence Day? (June 25)

The answer to these questions — among others — may be found in a new doorstep of a book, "The Political Reference Almanac." It's a tome that goes way beyond the standard political data to include: national and international calendars; county-by-county results of the 2002 presidential election; mini-bios of all U.S. presidents; political party profiles; advocacy groups; and federal and state budget information. And, of course, there is the standard fare, such as profiles of all members of Congress, the executive branch and the U.S.

Supreme Court, as well as details about state governments.

There's also a section dedicated to "Nations of the World." It is here that you can track down the president of Chad (General Idriss Deby), or the major political parties of Latvia, or the Seychelles ambassador to the U.S. (Claude Morei). You can reaffirm that the president of France from 1954 to 1959 was René Coty and learn the identity of all 27 chairmen of the Organization of African Unity (in 1975-76, it was Idi Amin.)

The book retails for \$49.95 and is available from Keystone Publishing, P.O. Box 6912, Arlington, VA 22206.



Quotables.....

"But can you afford to buy a ballpark?"

— Capitol reporter trying to pin down an estimate of wealthy Republican gubernatorial aspirant William Simon, Jr.'s net worth, after Simon refused to give a "ballpark estimate."

Flashback:

California's boys of summer

In 1988 five Assembly Democrats — the “Gang of Five” — tried to unseat then-Speaker Willie Brown Jr. by joining with Republicans for the 41 votes needed to dump Brown (CJ, April 1988). But fate intervened when vote number 41 — Republican Richard Longshore — died in June.

Fate, it seems, hasn't let up on the Gang:

- Steve Peace (D-San Diego), now a state senator, is closely associated with energy deregulation, a bit of resume' debris that smashed his political future.

- Charles Calderon

(D-Los Angeles) made it to the state Senate but got his bottom bashed in the 1998 Democratic primary for attorney general, finishing third.

- Rusty Arnesen (D-Gilroy) lost a tough 1996 state Senate election and suffered financial setbacks, including loss of the family dairy farm. He now serves as director of the state Department of Parks and Recreation.

- Gerald Eaves (D-Rialto), a member of the San Bernardino County supervisor since 1992, last month pleaded “no contest” to seven misdemeanor criminal charges stemming from free gifts he received while a supervisor.

- Gary Condit (D-Modesto) was considered the Gang's most successful alumnus after winning a seat in Congress in 1989, where he became one of the first “blue dogs” — conservative and moderate Democrats who helped set the stage for Bill Clinton's presidency. Now he, too, has been embroiled in controversy following the disappearance of a federal intern with whom Condit has been romantically linked. The lawmaker at first denied, then admitted having an affair with the woman, reinforcing his image as a party boy — which dates to his Assembly days.

Roger Kahn wrote “The Boys of Summer” about one of baseball's storied teams — the Brooklyn Dodgers. Kahn's book was a chronicle of human tragedy, cataloguing the misfortunes — large and small — which befell the individuals who played for those teams.

In a sense, the Gang of Five has become California's “Boys of Summer” — bright and ambitious, each has suffered from an unkind destiny.

Compiled by CJ editors



By the numbers

Voting in minority-majority districts

6: Number of California's 51 congressional districts with a Latino-majority population.

33: Percentage increase in Latino voter turnout in Latino-majority districts

36: Percentage increase in Latino voter turnout in Latino-majority districts with a Latino congressional representative.

27: Percentage increase in Latino voter turnout in Latino-dominated districts with Anglo congressional representative.

7: Number of minority-majority congressional districts with near equal number of Latinos and blacks dominating a white minority.

30: Percentage increase in Latino voter turnout in districts dominated by Latinos and blacks.

7: Percentage increase in black voter turnout in districts dominated by Latinos and blacks.

3: Percentage increase in Anglo voter turnout in multi-ethnic majority districts.

Source: Public Policy Institute of California, based on analysis of 1994 voting patterns in minority-majority congressional districts.

The search for

As California's population expands and its current teaching corps ages, the Golden State not only faces the task of recruiting qualified teachers but the responsibility to distribute them equitably. For the fact remains, the browner you are, and the poorer you are, the more likely you are to have an ill-prepared teacher.

By Emelyn
Rodriguez

What makes a child do well in school?

Myriad factors contribute to the answer: How well a school is maintained, how current are its textbooks, how big are its classes. Personal factors also weigh in, such as the number of nourishing meals a child eats in a day to the involvement of a child's parents.

All that aside, the most important influence on a child's performance is the teacher.

"Teacher quality is the single most powerful variable affecting how well kids do," says Linda Darling-Hammond, a professor of education at Stanford University and a nationally recognized expert on teacher quality, recruitment and retention.

If your child attends a suburban school or one in an upper- or middle-class neighborhood, the teacher probably is an asset. But if you are poor, and your child attends an underachieving school populated with limited-English-speaking students, the teacher may be a strong liability. That's because a disproportionate number of under-prepared, non-credentialed teachers toil in schools that serve the poor. Statewide, 14 percent of California teachers have emergency credentials. But in some schools in poor urban neighborhoods, uncredentialed teachers make up *half* the faculty.

And the situation probably won't get better any time soon.

Not that the state isn't trying to lure teachers. California is on a quest to round up fully qualified instructors.

In school districts from Los Angeles to San Francisco, officials are busily recruiting teachers from as far away as Spain, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico and Canada. Multi-million dollar advertising campaigns on television and in newspapers, touting the virtues of teaching, try to steer thousands of college students into the profession and to coax

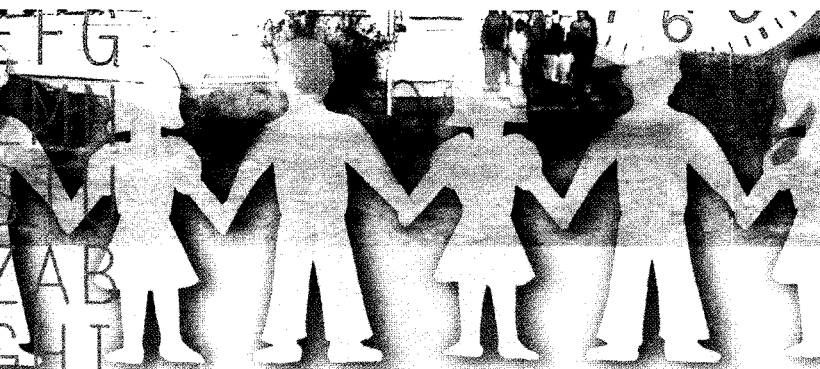
qualified teachers



career-changers into highly sought after specialties such as bilingual and special education, math and science. Financial incentives — from higher beginning salaries and income tax credits to loan forgiveness programs and bonuses — are dangled in front of teaching candidates.

So far, however, these attempts have yet to yield the desired results.

Despite extraordinary efforts, California continues to suffer the most dire teacher shortage in the country. The pressing need for more teachers comes at time of rising student enrollment, a looming exodus of retiring teachers and an uncertain economic future for the state. Most disproportionately affected are the lowest-achieving schools with the largest numbers of poor, minority and limited English speaking students — the very places where highly skilled and fully trained teachers are needed the most.



The problem, experts say, shows every indication of becoming worse.

"It's one of our most serious education challenges," said state Education Secretary Kerry Mazzone, a cabinet-level appointee of Governor Gray Davis. "We will not be able to close the gap between low-performing students and high-performing students if we're not able to attract qualified teachers."

The problem is not unique to California. A keen demand for fully trained teachers, especially in large urban districts, exists all across the nation. Yet, as Mazzone points out, "California has by far the largest and most dire shortage. We're doing everything that is being done [elsewhere]. And yet we're looking at a need of [up to] 300,000 teachers over the next 10 years, and I don't know where they're going to come from."

Although various studies over the years have predicted a looming teacher shortage, the problem seized the spotlight after the state's class-size reduction program was implemented in 1996 for grades kindergarten through third under then-Governor Pete Wilson. The unintended consequence of that program was an even more serious shortage of fully trained teachers. In the very first round, "we needed 20,000 new teachers overnight," Mazzone said.

The shortage was compounded by other factors: an aging teacher workforce (statistics from the State Teacher Retirement System show that one-third of California teachers are over 50); steadily rising student enrollment; high

teacher attrition rates; and, until recently, a bullish economy that lured potential teaching candidates into more lucrative professions.

A vast emergency teaching force

The pressing demand for thousands of new teachers spurred a hiring spree that placed many new, inexperienced instructors in the classroom on emergency permits. Generally, this meant that the teacher had at least a bachelor's degree and had passed a basic skills test. The new teacher, however, did not necessarily have any experience teaching children.

The state's heavy reliance on emergency permits and waivers has earned it the dubious distinction of being the state with the most non-credentialed teachers in the country, according to Stanford's Darling-Hammond.

Statistics show that times more teachers in California — Linda

"[California] has more uncredentialed teachers than 30 other states combined," she said. "This does not bode well for the state. That's because there's a high correlation between uncredentialed teachers and low student achievement."

Darling-Hammond, who has analyzed data from 50 states to determine if there is a link between teacher qualifications (among other variables) and student achievement, concluded that a well-trained teacher can have a powerful influence on student performance despite background conditions such as poverty and limited English proficiency. The converse also is true. Some studies suggest that even a single year in the classroom with an ill-prepared or ineffective teacher can hamper the academic achievements of some students years down the line.

California's temporary fix, which entails hiring large numbers of teachers on emergency permits, "is really penny wise and pound foolish," Darling-Hammond added. "The odds are that 70 percent of [the teachers] will be gone in five years. If the state spent more money on the front end by fully preparing and training teachers, it would spend less on the back end, in terms of big ticket items like remediation, low student achievement and the revolving door process of recruiting, replacing and [initiating] teachers."

During the 1998-99 school year, California had 32,700 teachers working with emergency permits or waivers, representing about 11.5 percent of the 291,000 public school teaching force, according to a recent report from the

nonprofit Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning.

Although the report for the 1999-00 school year is not yet available, the Center estimates that the number of teachers on emergency permits had risen to 37,000 or more. And the Center reports that data from schools this current year 2000-01, indicate that there are now more than 40,000 teachers who do not hold a full credential – about 14 percent of the workforce or nearly one teacher in seven.

The growing teacher gap

This does not mean that one teacher in seven at every school is non-credentialed. Many suburban schools have none, while the equation is vastly different at schools serving the poor.

“The conditions are getting worse rather than better,”

you are in California, the more likely you are to have an under-prepared teacher,” said Elaine Johnson of the California Federation of Teachers.

Statistics show that low-income and minority kids are 10 times more likely to have under-qualified teachers in California than their more privileged peers, and about four times more likely to have under-qualified teachers nationally, according to Darling-Hammond. “It’s about to become a crisis situation,” she added. “The data on how few kids, particularly kids of color pass the [high school] exit exam, that comes from this problem. There is no state in which there is a higher correlation between race and resources than in California.”

To be sure, many experts say that the crux of California’s teacher challenge is the skewed allocation of credentialed teachers. For instance, some districts, particularly those in

Low-income and minority kids are 10 times more likely to have under-qualified teachers than their more privileged peers.

Darling-Hammond, Stanford Education Professor

said Margaret Gaston, co-director of the Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning. “If you take a look at where these under-prepared teachers are placed, it’s not evenly distributed. They are found in areas where there are high concentrations of poor, minority and English language learners. Our poorest children have the highest percentage of under-prepared teachers. And the disparity is growing between suburban schools that serve middle-class children and urban schools that serve poor and minority children.”

Thirty percent of schools in California have no uncredentialed teachers and another 39 percent have fewer than 5 percent of their teaching force on emergency teaching permits or waivers, according to the center’s report.

And then there is the other California, where nearly one in four schools — 24 percent — get by with more than 20 percent of their teachers without full credentials. These 1,600 schools predominantly serve the state’s poorest students (totalling more than 1.5 million students) and were the most unable to improve the academic performance of their students. Some of these schools have 50 percent of their teaching force on emergency permits or waivers.

This disparity “presents a massive roadblock in the state’s reform plans to raise the academic performance of all students through higher standards and tougher tests,” concluded the Center’s report.

“The browner you are in California, and the poorer

more affluent, suburban areas, have more qualified applicants than jobs to fill. On the other hand, school districts in many low-income urban and some rural or isolated communities struggle to recruit even minimally qualified candidates.

Experts say that there are more than enough credentialed teachers in California to fill existing vacancies, but many choose not to pursue teaching careers. According to one estimate, 40 percent of teachers prepared through conventional programs in California never teach a day. In addition, more teachers arrive from other states prepared to teach in California than there are teaching slots. But many of these out-of-staters find California’s credentialing process too time-consuming or cumbersome.

“What we really have here is a problem of distribution and the inability to get and keep teachers in communities where they are most needed,” said Segun Eubanks, a teacher recruitment and retention specialist with the National Education Association.

It is a national problem which is particularly pronounced in California because of several other factors, Eubanks said. The problem is most acute in states like California, Texas, Florida and New York, with growing student diversity and an aging teacher work force.

“In California, the student population is growing more rapidly than other states, and it is growing more diverse more quickly,” said Eubanks. “California has many large urban school districts where there’s a greater need for

bilingual and special education teachers, of which there are national shortages. Many states have one or two of these challenges, but California is shouldered with all of them. Viewed from this perspective, California has the most significant teacher challenge."

Responding to the crisis

Governor Gray Davis and the Legislature responded to the crisis last year with a wealth of new policies and programs to help train, recruit and retain teachers. Their proposals included expanding teacher preparation and internship programs, providing more grants and scholarships, establishing regional teacher recruitment centers and providing more mentor and support programs for new teachers. They increased beginning teacher pay to \$34,000, provided \$1,500 tax credits for supplies purchased by teachers and began offering incentives and bonuses of up to \$25,000 to teachers in low-performing schools that show marked improvement in student test scores. In addition, policy makers set aside nearly \$120 million in grants to low-performing school districts (those that score in the bottom half of the Academic Performance Index, which ranks schools based on student test scores and other factors) to use for recruiting and retaining qualified teachers.

"It's paradoxical because we're doing more than other states, but the problem is so much worse here that our efforts may not look as significant," said Gary Hart, Mazzoni's predecessor as education secretary and the architect of many of the reforms.

Hart, however, believes that additional funding, resources and initiatives are necessary.

"Those steps are important first steps," Hart said, "but more needs to be done if we want a fully trained teacher force in California."

Current legislative proposals include: establishing block grants for the lowest-performing schools; creating incentives to help attract and retain fully qualified teachers; creating more alternative teacher credentialing programs; changing state law to make it easier for out-of-state teachers to get licensed in California, particularly those that are already nationally board certified; and awarding grants to colleges and universities to recruit, prepare and support new teachers to work in low-performing schools.

"If we're going to succeed in the big picture ... we need to focus on where the need is greatest," said Assemblyman Darrell Steinberg, (D-Sacramento), whose AB 961 calls for block grants to improve teacher quality in the poorest performing schools. "I think that there is growing recogni-

Alternative programs give potential teachers another route toward a full credential

By Emelyn
Rodriguez

Traditional teacher preparation programs do not yield enough teachers to keep pace with demand. As a result, there has been a growing emphasis in recent years on alternative routes to a teaching credential. These alternative options, for instance, allow candidates who have earned a bachelor's degree to become teachers through on-line courses or internships run by local school districts or universities.

California bestows about 27,000 teaching credentials each year. Unfortunately, 40 percent of teachers prepared through conventional programs do not go into teaching, according to a report by the Assembly Select Committee on Low Performing Schools.

The state has earmarked several million dollars to expand and improve both traditional preparation programs and programs that offer alternative paths to a credential. The 23-campus California State University system, which prepares about 60 percent of the state's teachers, has received \$25 million to increase the number of teaching candidates, improve training programs, expand university alternative programs and fund recruiting efforts.

In California, both the number of "alternative credentialing" programs and the number of teachers hired after going through such programs have increased dramatically in the last few years, said Lisa Snell, director of education and child welfare programs with the non-profit Reason Public Policy Institute.



tion that for all the major public school reforms to work, we need to address the challenges faced by low-performing schools."

Senator John Vasconcellos (D-Santa Clara), chair of the Senate Education Committee, believes that to raise student achievement, the state needs, among other things, a more comprehensive, systematic approach to dealing with teacher quality and low-performing schools. His bill, SB 508, calls for increased funding and resources for the state's neediest schools. His proposal includes items such as allowances for staff development and time for teacher collaboration and preparation.

"We have to even out the disproportion. We crafted it as a goal," Vasconcellos said. "We put some money in the pot that helps design programs to get more teachers attracted to the schools where the kids are in most need. We have to renew the vocation by better salaries, lower class size, more collaborative time to prepare, better working conditions, even better retirement benefits. It's the whole package."

By the middle of July, both bills were still in committee (Steinberg's in Assembly Appropriations; Vasconcellos' in Senate Education), and it was unclear whether either measure had enough support to pass this year. One reason

for the uncertainty is the state's deteriorating fiscal situation, according to Senator Bruce McPherson, (R-Santa Cruz), vice chair of the Senate Education Committee. Yet McPherson believes that significant financial investments must be made to ensure that the neediest children get their share of resources, including enough highly trained teachers.

"There's no question in my mind that it will continue to be a high priority for the governor and members of the Legislature," he said. "Obviously, this is going to take a significant amount of money at a time when the financial picture is uncertain."

Experts say policy changes may take several years to curb the problem, and it is unclear whether recent efforts will be sufficient.

The state's efforts "are very important and should be continued," said Jerry Hayward, co-director of Policy Analysis for California Education, a research institute run jointly by the University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University. "We don't know what the eventual impact of these policies will be or how teachers will respond to them."

Some experts believe that the various legislative initiatives would likely be more effective if the state poured more money and resources into their implementation. "Califor-

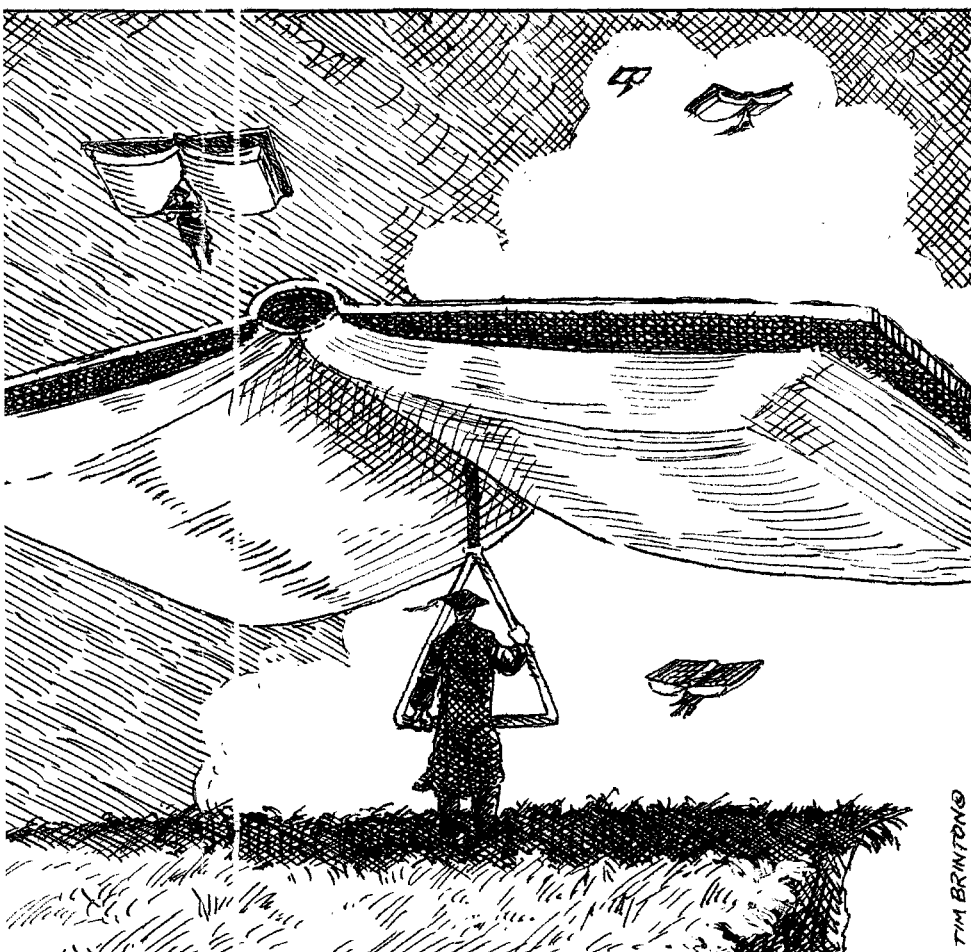


Illustration by Tim Brinton

"In the past school year, California certified 7,923 [alternative] program graduates as teachers, compared with 1,238 in 1994-1995," Snell said. "Currently between 8 and 10 percent of all teachers hired in California have gone through an alternative certification process."

The number of state-funded alternative teaching-certification programs in California increased from 29 to 65 within the last six years, and the number of people certified as teachers through these programs has more than tripled, according to the National Center for Education and Information.

Some studies suggest that these alternative programs attract larger numbers of minority candidates and highly sought after math and science teachers. Graduates also appear more willing to teach in urban areas and are more likely to stay in the districts where they receive training.

One statewide initiative, CalState Teach, launched in September 1999, combines real classroom teaching experience and independent study through on-line courses. It was designed an alternative program for stu-

nia has a lot of different legislative initiatives going on, but they need to be brought to scale if we're going to make a dent," said Stanford's Darling-Hammond. "They're very good beginning efforts. But it's a small commitment of resources given the magnitude of the problem. What would help is if these initiatives were doubled or tripled in size."

Keeping teachers in classrooms

Many education experts say that the real problem is not teacher recruitment but teacher retention. According to the National Education Association, 30 percent of all new teachers quit within five years. The numbers are higher — up to 50 percent, according to some experts — in urban school districts.

"I'm not sure everyone understands how difficult teaching really is," said PACE co-director Hayward. "A lot of people find out once they're in the classroom. They get lost, get discouraged and leave."

The cause of such high attrition varies — from low base salaries, to inadequate beginning teacher support to poor working conditions. According to the American Federation of Teachers, the 1999-2000 average national teacher salary of \$41,820 (which represented a 3.2 percent increase from the previous school year), was among the smallest in 40 years and failed to keep pace with inflation.

New teacher mentoring programs, which pair veteran teachers with novices, such as the Beginning Teacher

Support and Assessment program (BTSA), have been effective in boosting retention rates. The BTSA has been used as a national model, Hayward said. The program, which served 1,000 to 2,000 teachers when it was first created in 1992, has grown to a projected 26,000 in the 2000-2001 school year.

Other attempts to reduce teacher attrition rates include revising teacher preparation programs. For instance, the California State University system has incorporated a "blended curriculum" to provide undergraduate students with early exposure to real classroom experiences. The students get to observe and participate in actual classroom teaching while they earn undergraduate degrees, said Ken Swisher, spokesman for the CSU chancellor's office.

"The traditional way to get into teaching is to get a B.A. first and then earn the teaching credential," Swisher said. "But some students do that and find out later that they don't like working with kids or that teaching wasn't what they thought it would be. With this approach students are exposed to teaching courses and the classroom earlier. It makes them stronger teachers, and for those still deciding on teaching as a career, it can help them make up their minds."

Lessons from other states, countries

It is unclear whether recent efforts by state policy makers will yield the desired results. Yet other states, and even other countries, have successfully attracted and re-

dents who for various reasons — remote locations, transportation problems, family obligations, job requirements — find it more convenient to earn their teaching credentials by taking classes over the Internet.

"We needed an alternative for students who had difficulty making it to classes," said Ellen Derwin, the program's marketing director. "We basically come to them. It's all Internet supported. The faculty come to them and observe them in the classroom."

Students in the 18-month program are already employed as full-time teachers, but many are on emergency permits or waivers, Derwin said. The program produced its first batch of 133 graduates in March 2001. The program has 800 students enrolled in the current year, with a new group set to start classes in September.

Kym Cochran, a recent graduate who teaches elementary students in the Mojave Unified School District,

said that the program made it possible for her to earn a teaching credential from California State University, Fresno, while juggling the demands of raising a family and holding down a full-time job. In fact, Cochran believes she received a far superior education to one she would have received through a traditional teacher-preparation program.

"The course work is really rigorous and challenging, but it is so rewarding. You get the support and training you need to make an immediate difference in the classroom," Cochran said.

A growing number of local school districts and universities throughout the state are also offering internship programs. These programs provide on-the-job training for 7,900 potential teachers working to earn their credentials. Over 12,600 interns have received this type of training over the past five years.

One such program — offered by

the Elk Grove Unified School District in partnership with San Francisco State University — allows recent college grads, career-changers and other teaching candidates to earn a credential within 11 months. The internship program has graduated about 350 students over the past seven years, and the district hires about 85 percent of its graduates.

"The program provides Elk Grove with very prepared teachers," said Sue Stickel, the district's assistant superintendent for curriculum and professional learning. "We've been tracking our graduates, and 97 percent of them stay in teaching." Stickel attributes the high retention rates to the combination of classroom instruction and real-life experience graduates bring to the job. She adds, "It truly gives our student teachers tools to be successful in their first years so that they don't experience the same levels of frustration" that new teachers often feel. 🏠

"It was so easy to find this money for energy. Why is it so hard to find it for education?"

— State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin

tained a highly qualified teaching force.

Connecticut, for instance, was able to turn its teacher shortage into a surplus within three years. It began with an intensive effort 15 years ago to boost teacher quality by shifting more education dollars in support of teaching. State officials significantly raised teacher salaries, poured money into scholarships and forgivable loans for teaching students and developed a high-quality mentoring program in every district. Connecticut has since ranked at the top of national assessments for student achievement.

North Carolina, which launched a similar effort, also saw very sharp increases in student achievement and quality of teachers. In fact, states that lead the country in student test scores in math and reading (as measured by scores on the National Assessment of Educational Programs) have among the most highly trained teachers in the country, according to a report by the non-profit education group WestEd.

To raise teacher quality, some states including Connecticut, Minnesota, Maine, Montana, Wisconsin, Missouri and North Dakota have placed strict restrictions on the hiring of under-qualified teachers, and some prohibit their hiring when fully credentialed applicants have applied. New Jersey got rid of emergency licenses, except in bilingual and special education, and New York will prohibit school districts from hiring teachers on temporary licenses by September 2003.

Other countries also provide guideposts for keeping quality teachers. Studies suggest that one reason for the high attrition rates in the U.S. is the "sink-or-swim" approach new teachers are put through. In Japan and New Zealand, by comparison, new teachers are assigned a lighter teaching load and given less challenging classes (with fewer disciplinary problems and more cooperative parents) than their more experienced colleagues, according to cross-national study by the U.S. Department of Education and the Education Forum of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.

Indeed, in many Asian and European countries, beginning teachers are introduced to their classroom duties slowly. They often spend less time in the classroom than their more seasoned peers and have greater access to experienced mentors. By contrast, new teachers in the United States or in California, often do not get that level of support.

"I think teachers really want to be part of a team," said Wayne Johnson, president of the California Teachers Association. "Teachers want time every day to collaborate,

to talk about curriculum, talk about strategies, talk about lesson plans, talk about how to deal with certain kids. We have none of that. Whereas in Japan, that's one of the strengths of the Japanese system. Every afternoon, the teachers get together and collaborate."

In California, proposals to allow more time for professional development as well as shortening classroom time for teachers in low-performing schools have been floated, said former Education Secretary Hart. In some Asian countries, for example, the amount of time a teacher spends in the classroom doesn't exceed four hours a day, he said. "We need to do more along this line to make teaching more attractive," Hart added. "But in a certain sense, this may exacerbate the [state's teacher shortage] in the short term. In terms of a long-term strategy, fewer teaching hours reduces burnout and would be a good investment."

A lost opportunity?

Although California in recent years has poured significant financial resources and ramped up its efforts to increase and improve its teaching force, many believe that the problems won't be fully solved unless the state is prepared to commit even more money to the problem and develop an even more focused effort.

"The concern is when we have a downturn in the economy that some of these efforts may be cut back or not expanded," said Hart. "If we are going to have a significant impact on the shortage we need to do more."

Finding the resources to start new programs or expand existing efforts may be more of a challenge due to the state's economic slowdown, but solving the teacher shortage should remain at the top of policy makers' to-do list, said State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin. She believes that the state should have done more about the teacher shortage when resources were more plentiful.

"I think it's a tragedy. It's a missed opportunity," Eastin said. "So much was spent on energy. I wish we had spent the same amount on education. ...Don't get me wrong. The energy crisis is real, I acknowledge that. But education should have been given the same kind of extra push. It was so easy to find this money for energy. Why is it so hard to find it for education?"

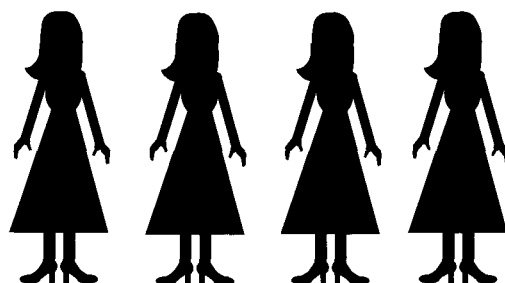
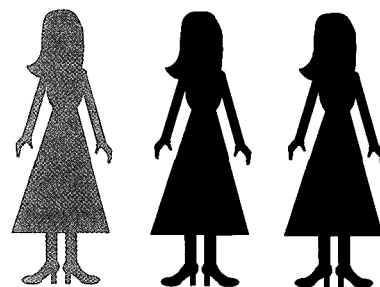
After all, she added, "The education system will never be better than its teachers. They're the linchpin." 

Emelyn Rodriguez is senior editor of California Journal. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

California, like the rest of the country faces a serious teacher shortage.

Nearly 300,000 new teachers must be hired over the next decade, an amount equal to today's entire teaching force. But the teacher shortage does not affect all schools equally. Schools that need qualified teachers the most — those with high

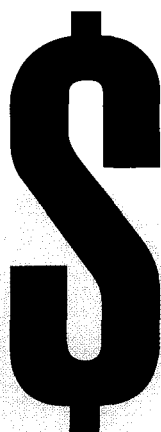
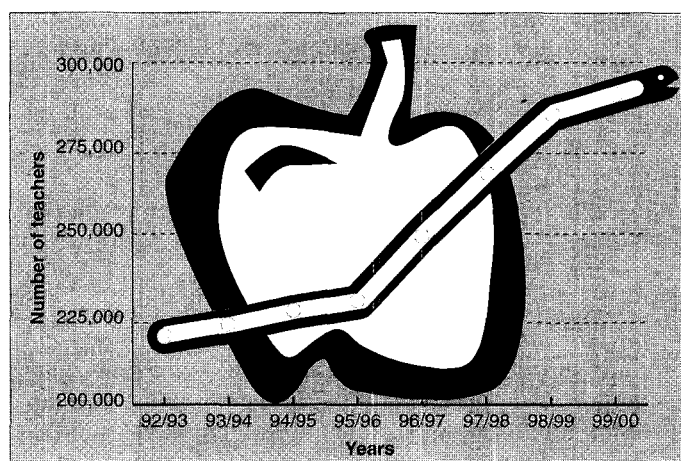
Schools report that there are now more than 40,000 underqualified classroom teachers who do not hold a full credential — or about 14% of the workforce — **nearly one teacher in seven**



Who will teach our children?

percentages of poor and minority students — will encounter the greatest recruiting challenges.

Historical demand for teachers in California



Top 10 teachers' salaries in Far West cities

California teachers are among the highest paid nationally, but teacher salaries pale in comparison to other professions.

	Min.	Max.		Min.	Max.
1. Anaheim, CA	\$33,908	\$60,197	6. Huntington Beach, CA	\$32,536	\$52,953
2. Santa Ana, CA	32,134	56,765	7. Portland, OR	27,997	49,869
3. Long Beach, CA	33,149	55,944	8. Glendale, CA	32,653	49,436
4. Fremont, CA	39,535	54,657	9. San Francisco, CA	31,172	49,262
5. Riverside, CA	32,693	53,487	10. San Diego, CA	30,901	48,436



Minimum salaries based on teachers with bachelor's degrees. Maximum salaries are those with master's degrees, 1999-2000

California K-12 public schools employ more than 292,000 teachers

California teacher profile 1999-2000

Three out of 10 hold advanced degrees

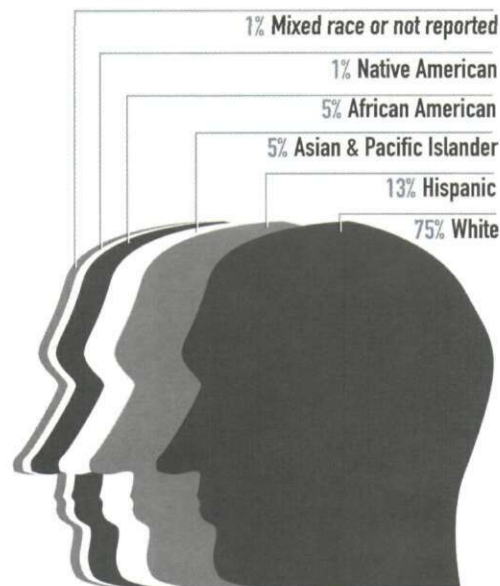
On average, teachers have more than 12 years classroom experience

First- and second-year teachers make up more than 15% of the teaching force

Approximately 86% of teachers are fully credentialed, but 14% teach under some form of emergency permit or waiver

An aging teacher population nearing retirement and an exponential growth in student enrollment fuel California's dramatic need for more qualified teachers.

California's teaching force is predominantly white



Average teacher salary in 2000 falls short of earnings in other professions

Full professor	\$82,535
Attorney	\$77,150
Engineer	\$72,427
Programmer/analyst	\$66,849
Buyer	\$57,035
Accountant	\$52,323
Assistant professor	\$43,362
Teacher	\$41,820

Graphics by Scarlet Shin

Sources: Edsource, Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning, The Status of the Teaching Profession 2000, California Department of Education, U. S. Department of Defense Civilian Personnel Management Service, Wage and Salary Division, List of School District Minimums, Maximums and Steps, Arlington, VA, Survey & Analysis of Teacher Salary Trends 2000, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The distribution of underqualified teachers is uneven

Underqualified teachers make up more than 20% of the teacher workforce in the neediest schools which can have detrimental, long-term effects on the entire school community.

Schools with an average of 6% or fewer underqualified teachers

- 40% of all California schools (including 30% that report no underqualified teachers)
- Highest quartile on API scores
- Serve less than 25% poor students
- Serve less than 30% minority students

Schools with an average of 20% or more underqualified teachers

- 25% of all California schools
- Lowest quartile on API scores
- Serve more than 75% poor students
- Serve more than 90% minority students

Helping kids over

Mentors called to action

Within a few short years, Governor Gray Davis hopes to enlist one million mentors — volunteers with a few hours a week to give a youngster a hand with their school work and a leg up with some life skills. It's an ambitious goal, one that depends as much on ample resources and funding as the generosity of ordinary citizens kind enough to share their time.

The mentoring program began six years ago and was sparked in part by a rise in teen-pregnancy rates. At the time, then Governor Pete Wilson weighed in with a call to arms for 250,000 mentors, volunteers who would lavish weekly attention on young people who could benefit from the presence

Pairing adults with young people can educate and reward both sides of that relationship. To that end, Governor Gray Davis wants to recruit one million mentors. But the real challenge is to properly train, support and coach the volunteers so young people receive meaningful guidance.

of a trusting, stable adult. Wilson made news across California when he not only pledged to establish his flotilla of mentors but also announced that he would mentor a teenage boy in Sacramento. "I am convinced that unless a whole lot of us step forward ... a lot of very decent kids are going to wind up making very tragic mistakes that hurt themselves and the people who love them and hurt society in a variety of ways," Wilson said at the time.

Wilson's plea came on the heels of a 1995 study of the nationally-recognized Big Brothers Big Sisters program that pointed to the tangible benefits of pairing non-related adults with adolescents. A random sample of 1,000 young people between the ages of 10 and 16 in Big Brothers Big Sisters showed that those with mentors were less likely to begin using illegal drugs and alcohol, to skip school and to forcibly hit someone.

"Mentoring is the most positive youth development strategy we know of in America," said Dr. Andrew Mecca, who began his involvement with mentoring as Wilson's director of the Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs and who now heads the Marin-based California Mentor Foundation. While with the Wilson administration, he saw millions of dollars spent on remedying what are commonly referred to as the four social epidemics — teen pregnancy, high school drop-out rates, gang activity and alcohol and drug use — with only a

By Kathleen Les

life's hurdles:

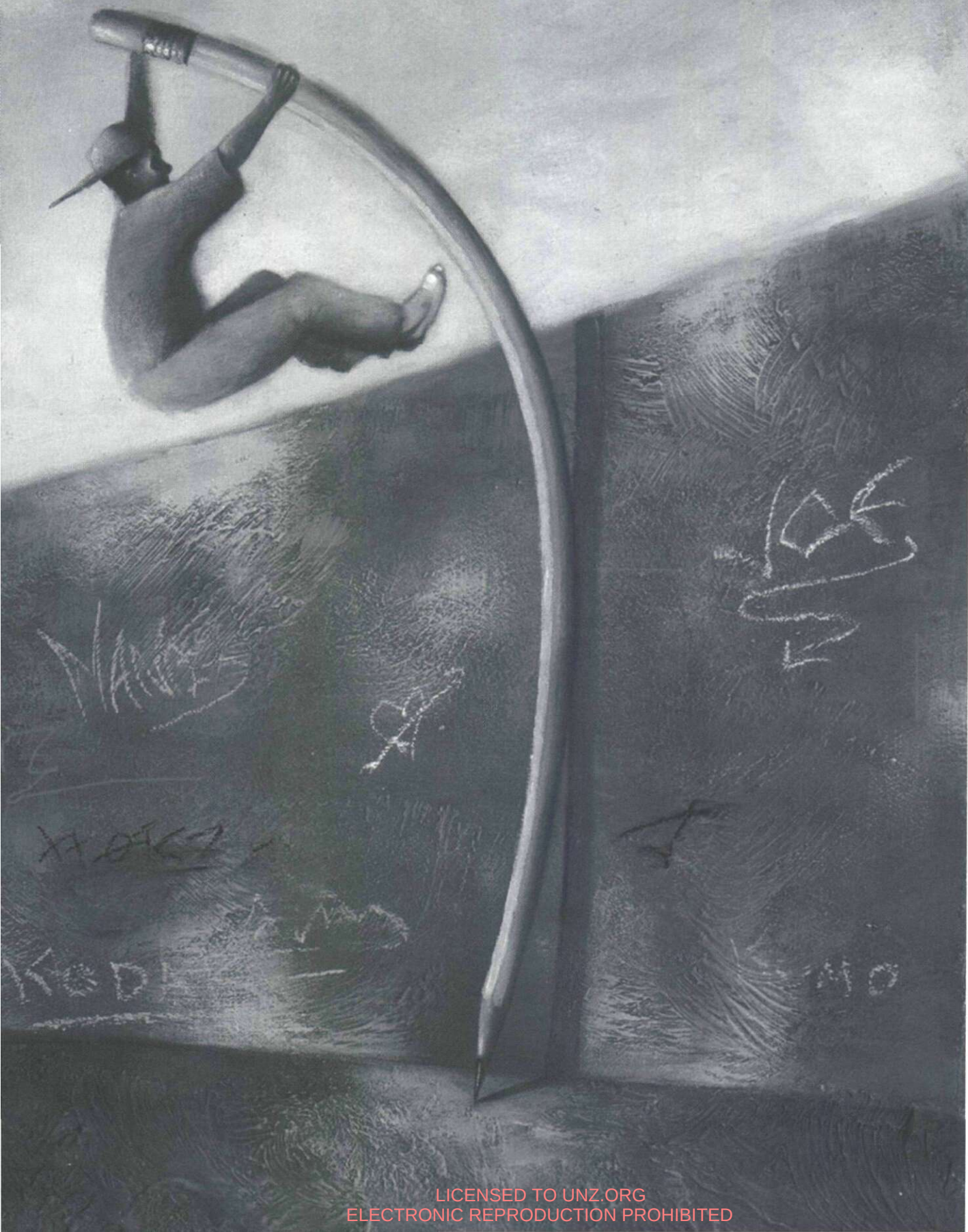


Illustration by Jon Krause



First Lady Sharon Davis joins students to promote mentoring on the Capitol steps in April 2001.

modest return on investment. The basic process of human engagement offered by mentoring can make a difference where other programs have failed, he says.

Davis has seized on the benefits of mentoring as an ideal complement to his education agenda, and he has

two are charged with overseeing recruitment efforts.

Although Wilson met his goal of 250,000 mentors, his small staff, operating out of Sacramento, was handicapped when it came to coordinating its efforts across a state as large as California. To help facilitate the task of

promised to build an army of one million mentors by 2005. Although lauded for carrying on a program initiated during a Republican administration, Davis now has the daunting task of rounding up enough volunteers to carry out his pledge.

"Our hope is to create an epidemic of mentoring, but we're not there yet," said Dr. Jim Kooler, who Davis enlisted to head up his Governor's Mentoring Partnership, tucked inside the Governor's Office of Planning and Research. From his office across from the Capitol, Kooler and his staff of

Mentoring programs that work

By
Kathleen
Les

Among California's most successful mentoring models is an in-house program run by the California Franchise Tax Board, where each year some 100 state employees pair up with youngsters from Sacramento-area schools. Started in 1991, the FTB has distinguished itself as the only state agency to recruit and coach mentors from among its ranks rather than merely referring interested employees to outside groups.

Pam Langbehn, who has directed the program since its inception, attributes her mentoring accomplishments to intensive screening of both employees and students to assure suitable matches. Mentors are carefully trained and participate in regular meetings with fellow employee mentors. The high school students selected are often invited to intern at the FTB, providing an added job boost for teens not sure of a



Friday Night Live Mentoring high school students

swelling the mentoring ranks, Davis has shifted from direct volunteer recruitment to building partnerships with large statewide groups with huge stockpiles of able bodies.

"In the past, it was retail recruitment with only a few [recruits] at a time," said Kooler. "Now we're looking at a wholesale approach."

That approach has Davis drawing on powerful allies such as, the California Chamber of Commerce, the Association of Retired Persons, the state's colleges and universities and state employee unions. Wilson pushed for state employees to fill his mentoring ranks and negotiated up to 40 hours a year paid leave for time spent mentoring a child. But Wilson, who also pushed for reductions in the state work force, was unpopular among the unions that represent state employees, and labor leaders were loathe to encourage their rank-and-file to help. "It was a mixed message, and people didn't take it seriously," said Perry Kenny, president of the 100,000-member California State Employees Association.

Davis enjoys a better relationship with state unions, and union leaders such as Perry are considerably more enthusiastic about helping this governor reach his goal. At a Capitol rally last April, CSEA publically committed to recruit 10,000 mentors from among its membership.

From commitment to service

But even CSEA's commitment makes it a long way to one million. Finding a willing mentor and converting him or her to a 'match,' it turns out, takes more than simply

reeling in a willing volunteer. A productive relationship, with long-term benefits, must be forged with a young recipient. And that takes time, expertise and money.

Kooler's operation has already spent several months developing standards for mentoring programs to assure that volunteers are adequately screened, trained and coached through the process. After using these standards to assess mentoring programs offered by local organizations across the state, 200 of the programs needed improvement to offer a realistic chance that mentoring relationships would survive beyond six months — the requisite amount of time before bonding and trust take place between mentor and mentee. Under the new rubric, Davis' effort has so far yielded just 90,000 new mentors above and beyond Wilson's tally.

While Davis has made clear his support for mentoring, including a high-profile promotional role for First Lady Sharon Davis, in question is his willingness to pay for quality programs that do more than drive up recruitment numbers. State Senator Dede Alpert (D-Coronado) has tried for three years to establish an umbrella group to better coordinate mentoring services among various state agencies, but the governor has yet to respond to Alpert's initiatives.

In addition, Alpert, who has championed mentoring more than any other California legislator, has yet to get a mentoring bill across the governor's desk. Last year, her SB 596 would have appropriated \$10 million to remedy the fragmented approaches to fostering mentors. It sailed



Four Middle Schools protégés

career path.

An avowed champion of mentoring, Langbehn raves about the improved morale of employees who become mentors and the powerful self-esteem boost to students. But building her program has been laborious and not without trial and error. "The only thing I would have underestimated," she said, "is the amount of work involved." Langbehn and two assistants work full-time managing the FTB's school partnership program, conducting rigorous background checks on employees, developing in-depth student profiles to foster suitable matches and arranging field trips for students and their mentors to promote better bonding.

Deirdre Choucalas is among the FTB employees who have taken a student under wing. Each week Choucalas, a project analyst, and Kimberly Angeles spend time together to help the high school senior plot her path to college. Already an "A" student, Kimberly was receptive to an older pal who could guide her through college admission, know-how her Filipino-born mother lacked. Beginning in the fall, Kimberly will attend California State University, Sacramento, thanks in part to Choucalas' advice on how to apply for college admission, obtain a full scholarship and assess whether the curriculum meshed with her career goals.

"[Kimberly's] self-esteem is better because of having a

through the Senate with bipartisan support but died in the Assembly when the governor failed to extend an early signal of support. This year with the energy crises at hand, Alpert introduced a similar bill requesting just \$500,000. And although the bill is still alive, the money to implement it has not survived the budget quagmire. It was stripped out during Assembly budget hearings.

Money falls short

Other attempts to broaden mentoring's mission have also fallen by the wayside. Last year Davis vetoed State Librarian Kevin Starr's \$5 million proposal for library-based mentoring. Similarly, the governor vetoed a bill by Assembly Speaker Bob Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks) and Assembly Majority Leader Kevin Shelley (D-San Francisco) to expand the Experience Corps mentoring program that pairs retirees with inner-city children.

Davis has preferred instead to set aside the lion's share of his \$15 million mentoring budget for control by his secretary of education, where \$10 million a year has been earmarked to support school-based mentoring at 300 schools. Although 20,000 students a year are helped by that allocation, another 70,000 students are on waiting lists for mentors. Representatives of Secretary of Education Kerry Mazzoni say that recruiting quality mentors is costly and it is unlikely that more students will be paired up with a mentor until funding is drastically increased. Davis this year moved to increase the amount for school site mentoring by \$5 million, but, thwarted by increased energy costs, dropped the amount in his May revise. And though the



High School students (rear) thrive on coaching their younger charges.

school mentoring programs have been in operation for the last three years, it will be this fall before an evaluation of whether student test scores and grades have improved as a result of the help received from a mentor.

Ironically, the Big Brothers Big Sisters study was undertaken to compare the high cost of that approach with programs that claimed to be effective,



Franchise Tax Board employee Dierdre Choucalas (left) and Kimberly Angeles, whom she mentors.

mentor," said Langbehn. "It's a long way to even Cal State Sacramento from where she started."

Not all mentoring programs involve as much time together as the one sponsored by the Franchise Tax Board. In some, workers like lawyer JudyAnne McGinley, take just one hour a week to meet with their charges as part of the Student Lunch Buddy program. Since February, McGinley has made her way to William Land School in downtown Sacramento to develop a friendship with Sheila, a cheery sixth grader born to Mexican immigrants. Together they chat, work on puzzles and go over school work. "It was a big surprise how fast we bonded," McGinley said.

Mentoring needs range from those like Angeles, who simply wanted help with a foot in the door to college, to the hardcore residents of the California Youth Authority. There, 150 teens in jail for serious crimes have been put through an intensive mentoring program developed by the Oakland-based Mentoring Center. Boasting a 65 percent success rate, the program that costs up to \$21,000 a year per teen inmate and offers in-depth self-assessment counsel-

ing, literacy training and guidance with job placement.

"We're not giving birth to demonic kids all of a sudden," said program director Martin Jacks. "It's society that has changed so drastically," depriving youngsters of neighborhoods, schools and families with caring adults.

As the Davis administration must dig deeper to fill its mentor ranks, not only college students, but high school students, as well, are among those whose leadership is put to positive use as mentors. Twenty-seven counties now boast mentoring relationships between high school and junior high school students as part of the Friday Night Live Mentoring program, aimed at helping fortify seventh and eighth graders for the academic realities and social pressures of high school. The teen mentors, in turn, take heart and improve their own self-awareness by helping guide a younger friend through the muddy waters of adolescence. "My protégé looks up to me, and I need to make better choices as a result," said one high school girl, who turned her own life around after assuming responsibility as a role model to a seventh grader. 🏠



Lawyer and mentor, JudyAnne McGinley, shares a hug with her 6th grade mentee.

tive with less out-of-pocket expense. "But in fact," said Marc Freedman, who was affiliated with the study, "we discovered that mentoring couldn't be done on the cheap, and programs that tried to do so often did more harm than good."

Freedman, who in the early 1990s wrote a book examining the virtues and pitfalls of mentoring ("The Kindness of Strangers"), questions whether Davis' mentor goal isn't yet another case of "fervor without infrastructure." There are significant differences, he points out, between Big Brothers Big Sisters and other, more typical mentoring programs that often are no more than once-a-week tutoring sessions. Big Brothers Big Sisters has been evolving since 1906. And unlike most mentoring programs, it includes the participation of not only the child and his or her mentor, but a parent and a case worker as well. That foursome shares as much as 10-12 hours a month, considerably more than the four hours a week more typical of mentoring partnerships.

Too often, suggests Freedman, mentoring programs try to jump start the relationship-building process with a specific prescription for how to turn kids' lives around. After nine months, Freedman's own research found that only a small percent of mentoring relationships survived when they relied on focused "outcomes" rather than the organic process of building a friendship. "Unless mentoring is done carefully, it's unlikely to have the benefits we see with Big Brothers Big Sisters," he said.

Typical mentoring programs, though well-intentioned, may be reaching kids whose own resilience, despite an upbringing in poverty, would ultimately propel them in the right direction anyway. And while by its very definition mentoring implies the volunteer services of an older, wiser adult, experts like Freedman point to the need for more paid professionals, particularly in schools, where teachers, counselors and social-service providers pick up the modeling and guidance where parents sometimes leave off. Smaller class sizes in the early elementary grades go a long way toward this goal, says Freedman, who believes that

mentoring should not be the exclusive responsibility of volunteers.

"We should be rethinking our institutions for kids, particularly schools, so they are more caring places, mentor-rich environments where adults work closely with students," he said.

For her part, Alpert believes that social-service programs offered by state agencies should focus more on preventing deviant behavior than on trying to reverse problems after they occur. Mentoring programs are one such approach, and Alpert hopes to introduce future legislation to embark on a sweeping statewide youth development strategy that would include mentoring.

But mentoring advocates like Dr. Mecca point out that not only children, but their volunteer mentors gain from the relationship. Mentors who successfully sustain a relationship with a young person almost universally speak of the enrichment they themselves receive. They also get an education by crossing the economic and social divide that often separates them from their youthful partners. "You cannot become a mentor without becoming an advocate for those deficiencies faced by so many children," said Dr. Mecca. 🏠

Kathleen Les is associate editor of California Journal. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Mentoring at a glance

Governor Davis committed to enlist 1 million mentors to aid California youth by 2005. Here's how mentoring stacks up numerically:

340,000 mentor matches lasting at least one year were tallied by the Governor's Mentoring Initiative between 1995 and 2000 to count toward the 1 million goal.

90,000 mentors have been recruited since Governor Davis took office.

20,000 school children are paired each year with mentors for academic help through grants administered by the office of the Secretary of Education.

75 percent of all mentors are female.

70 percent of those who consider applying for a mentorship, decline to do so after learning of the obligations involved.

66 percent of all mentor relationships now last at least one year due to improved retention strategies; six years ago the retention rate was just 30 percent.

Sources: Governor's Mentor Partnership, California Mentor Foundation, The Volunteer Centers of California.

The California
Supreme Court's
longest-serving
member was more
than a trend-setting

Justice Stanley Mosk

By Bob
Egelko

jurist. He was a
political survivor who
linked the current
Court to its liberal
heyday during the
1960s and '70s.

Stanley Mosk died June 19, survived by 1,700 state Supreme Court opinions, more than a few of them monumental. Mosk, who spent nearly 37 years on the Court and 58 years in public office, was one of a kind — a mixture of judge and canny politician reminiscent of Earl Warren, an adaptor and survivor in the mode of Bill Clinton and a legal figure of national stature. In an era when judges typically depart for the more lucrative and less-demanding world of private arbitration as soon as they reach retirement age, Mosk annually led the Court in output and was at work in his chambers the day before his death at age 88.

Mosk started practicing law in 1935 when, as he recalled,

chasing dollars, but there are other people who are chasing
only this. We need lawyers today who will look in one
gun to the other... so that if he goes that ... doesn't
right, he can pull out his gun and stand

leaver, Sept. 19681

look the potential of .22 long rifle, as guerilla
resistance weapons... The .22 can completely with
that are always available. Although lining power,
readily increased by filling hollow

Pugh, Jan. 19662

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What legal commentators generally consider Mosk's most significant contribution to the law came in a series of decisions in the 1970s that interpreted the California Constitution as a source of stronger protections for individual rights than parallel provisions of the U.S. Constitution

a good day brought in "a \$25 case and two small ones." He may have been the last of the New Deal liberals in California public life and was definitely the last link to the glory days of the state's high Court.

Halfway through his second term as state attorney general in 1964, Mosk was appointed to the California Supreme Court by Governor Pat Brown. It was then the most influential state Court in the nation. Chief Justice Roger Traynor, newly elevated by Brown to succeed the equally renowned Phil Gibson, and colleagues like Mathew Tobriner and Raymond Peters forged new legal doctrine in bold strokes, spurring changes in other states and often foreshadowing developments in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Traynor's landmark 1963 ruling, allowing victims of injuries caused by defective products to sue without having to prove the manufacturer was negligent, quickly became the model for consumer protection law nationwide. The Court acted long before its federal counterpart to curb police misconduct and liberalize abortion. And when voters passed a 1964 initiative legalizing racial discrimination in housing, the Court struck it down and saw their ruling affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court. He then withstood an election challenge that was a faint omen of things to come two decades later.

When Mosk arrived, he "was seen as a politician," recalled state Appellate Justice J. Anthony Kline, a law clerk on the Court in 1965. "He was not the star that he later became. I think he has consistently tried to meet the standard that those outstanding judges set."

Mosk was blazing his own trails by the early 1970s, with Ronald Reagan in the governor's office but the Court's liberal majority holding firm. He wrote decisions allowing

tenants of rundown apartments to fight eviction by demanding repairs, entitling bank customers to privacy in their records, requiring doctors to tell patients of the risks and alternatives to treatment before seeking their consent and protecting disabled parents from custody decisions based on stereotypes.

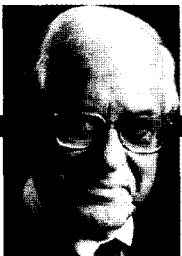
His 1972 ruling, probably the most important environmental decision the Court has ever issued, required private developers to obtain environmental impact reports when seeking permits for major projects. And a 1978 ruling outlawed racial discrimination in jury selection, eight years before the U.S. Supreme Court took the same step.

Independent state grounds

What legal commentators generally consider Mosk's most significant contribution to the law came in a series of decisions in the 1970s that interpreted the California Constitution as a source of stronger protections for individual rights than parallel provisions of the U.S. Constitution. The state-guaranteed right to be free from unreasonable searches or self-incrimination, for example, might require exclusion of evidence that the U.S. Supreme Court would have allowed. Freedom of speech might permit conduct in California — like circulating petitions at shopping malls — that could be banned elsewhere under a federal standard.

The doctrine known as "independent state grounds" — the inscription on a coffee can in Mosk's chambers — is not without historical support. As Mosk noted, state constitutions predated the U.S. Constitution and were the models for much of the Bill of Rights. The U.S. Supreme Court has long recognized that states can exceed federal minimums

Stanley Mosk 1912 - 2001



Born in San Antonio, Texas

1912



1933
Graduates from the University of Chicago

Earns a law degree from Southwestern Law School in Los Angeles

1935



Is appointed by Olsen to the Los Angeles Superior Court

1942

1939
Is named executive secretary to Governor Culbert Olsen

1947
As the judge in *Wright v. Dye*, overturns racially restrictive housing covenants a year before a similar landmark decision is issued by the U.S. Supreme Court

when protecting individuals against the government.

But as the California Court relied increasingly on state constitutional rulings to counter the national Court's rightward shift in the late 1970s, prosecutors and some legal scholars accused Mosk of inventing constitutional doctrine to reach a desired result. In 1982 state voters passed a prosecution-sponsored initiative, creatively named the Victims' Bill of Rights, that required California courts to follow federal standards on evidence in criminal cases. When the State Supreme Court upheld the measure, Mosk penned his most famous dissent, declaring that "the goddess of justice is wearing a black armband as she weeps for the Constitution of California."

The doctrine remains alive in California civil law, however, particularly in the area of privacy. Courts in other states, meanwhile, have picked up Mosk's torch. "Probably the most lasting and influential thing he did was to reinvigorate state constitutions," said McGeorge School of Law Professor Clark Kelso.

Civil rights legacy

Mosk's legacy in civil rights is more complicated, the product of a 50-year journey from a pioneering desegregation case to Proposition 209. In 1947, five years after his former boss, Governor Culbert Olson, had made him the youngest Superior Court judge in California at age 30, Mosk was confronted with the case of black home buyers who faced eviction from their Los Angeles neighborhood because of whites-only clauses in their property deeds. Those so-called "restrictive covenants" were a common method of maintaining racial housing patterns without segregation laws, but Mosk declared them unconstitutional — a year before the U.S. Supreme Court, in a different case, reached the same conclusion.

"We read in columns in the press each day about un-American activities," Mosk wrote. "This Court feels there is no more reprehensible un-American activity than to deprive persons of their own homes on a master race theory."

After being elected attorney general in 1958, Mosk established the office's first civil rights division, took action

against school segregation, and pressured the Professional Golfers Association to admit blacks in 1961 by threatening to exclude the PGA tour from public courses in California. Those actions, though often politically difficult, were based on a simple concept: Racial exclusion was wrong and could be curtailed without damaging any interests honored by a decent society. The 1976 case of Allan Bakke, the white student who challenged a quota for low-income minorities at the University of California, Davis, medical school, was different because rights were in conflict.

For Mosk, the answer was clear: Civil rights meant equality and not quotas, preferences or any differential treatment based on race, as he declared in a majority opinion ordering Bakke's admission. It was not an unusual view for liberals of his generation — U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas once wrote an opinion much like Mosk's — but it left minorities feeling betrayed and drove a wedge between the California Court and its allies on the left.

Mosk never looked back, even after the U.S. Supreme Court two years later rejected his conclusion that all use of race in admissions was unconstitutional. He faced down pickets at a Davis law school graduation, dissented when his Court upheld affirmative-action programs, even suggested a state constitutional amendment in 1981, and finally saw the essence of his ruling written into law in 1996 when state voters passed Proposition 209. When the Court took up the measure last November, Mosk joined the most conservative justices in an opinion that narrated the history of civil rights and put race-based affirmative action in the same category as segregation and slavery.

By then, Mosk had been the Court's senior member for nearly 20 years and was serving under his fifth chief justice. The Court's history might have been different if he had ever become chief justice, and Mosk clearly felt he deserved it — a view he made little effort to conceal in 1977 when Governor Jerry Brown appointed Rose Bird, a Cabinet aide with no judicial experience, to lead the previously all-male Court.

The next year, when Bird was on the ballot, Mosk was an unnamed source for a *Los Angeles Times* story, accusing

Is elected California attorney general, defeating Republican Pat Hillings by 1.25 million votes

1958



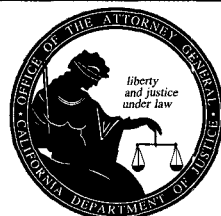
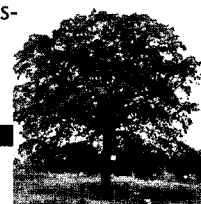
Considers running for the U.S. Senate but pulls out of the race

1963



His opinion in *Vasquez v. Superior Court* paves the way for consumer class-action lawsuits

1971



1962

As attorney general, threatens to sue the Professional Golfers' Association over its "Caucasians only" policy if the PGA holds a tournament on a California public course, thereby hastening the end of that policy

1964

Is appointed to California Supreme Court by Governor Pat Brown

1972

His opinion in *Friends of Mammoth v. Board of Supervisors* extends California Environmental Quality Act restrictions to private developers



State Supreme Court June 2001: Justice Mosk left of Chief Justice Ron George, front center.

the Court of delaying a sensitive ruling, that almost cost her the election. He turned down an award from a lawyers' group that had endorsed her. And when Bird and fellow Jerry Brown appointees Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin were under attack in the 1986 election for the Court's death penalty reversals, Mosk kept his distance, whispering an endorsement of his colleagues but objecting when Reynoso's campaign likened Reynoso's record to Mosk's.

A political reversal

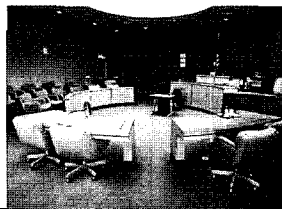
Of course, Mosk was on the 1986 ballot, too, and his 74 percent victory amid the wreckage of the liberal Court was a political wonder that rivaled any of former President Bill Clinton's own comebacks. Mosk kept conservatives off balance by hinting at retirement until the last minute,

raised no money while fellow justices and their opponents were consuming \$11 million, took advantage of longtime relationships with prosecutors, and persuaded anti-Bird groups not to target him for fear they would overreach and tarnish their own effort. In the end, even Republican Governor George Deukmejian — one of the Bird Court's fiercest critics — endorsed him.

One reason Mosk was treated gently may have been the marked change in his treatment of capital cases as the election approached. A personal opponent of the death penalty who had joined nearly all of the Bird Court's reversals, he started voting in dissent with Deukmejian appointee Malcolm Lucas to uphold death sentences — including 10 on a single day, New Year's Eve 1985. Mosk later insisted there was nothing inconsistent about his

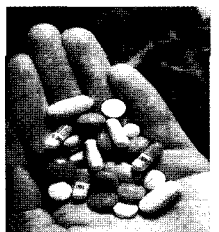
His opinion in *Bakke v. Regents* bans minority admissions at the University of California as violations of the Constitution's equal protection clause

1976



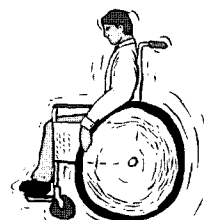
His opinion in *In re: marriage of Carney* decrees that a disabled parent cannot be denied custody of a child because of a physical handicap

1979



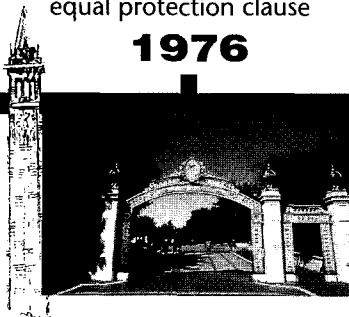
1978

His opinion in *People v. Wheeler* is the first in the nation to ban racial discrimination in jury selection



1980

Decision on tort law in *Sindell v. Abbott Laboratories* allows women with cancer whose mothers had taken DES to sue the drug manufacturers



record, an assertion even his admirers dismiss.

"He was able to see ... that it was time for the Court to move on, to accede to overwhelming public support for the death penalty," said Kelso.

But what about judicial independence, the staple of civics lesson: and Law Day orations?

Judicial elections in recent years suggest that, to the voting public and its elected leaders, independence is more attractive in theory than in practice. A judge like Bird, or the local magistrate who grants bail to an accused rapist, can be branded as arrogant, above the law, disdainful of the public will. Profiles in courage have been written about federal judges in the South who endured ostracism and death threats for ruling against segregation, but their careers were preserved by the constitutional guarantee of life tenure, which does not apply to California judges.

"If justices become completely ivory tower, without any appreciation of the public reaction ... they aren't protecting the Court," said Peter Keane, dean of Golden Gate University Law School. He said Mosk understood that "survival can be achieved by some compromises" without sacrificing bedrock principles.

"He knew when to trim his sails," said UC Berkeley Law Professor Stephen Barnett, an admiring observation that Mosk would not have wanted as an epitaph.

The debate surfaced on the Court in 1987 when Mosk, to general astonishment, wrote a majority opinion overturning a 1983 precedent — which he had joined — that a death sentence required proof of intent to kill. The new ruling affected 29 capital cases and drew a pointed rebuke from Justice Allen Broussard, author of the 1983 decision and the only other holdover from the Bird Court: "When the political winds gust in a new direction, it becomes necessary to remind all concerned of the virtues of a steady course."

Mosk's reply concisely stated his view of public accountability: Judges should be willing to reconsider legally questionable precedents when they involve "a matter of continuing concern to the community at large" — language then Chief Justice Lucas quoted back to him a year

later when the Court overturned a Mosk precedent.

The fruits of his skills

His political skills earned Mosk 14 years on a conservative Court, where he was the leading dissenter but by no means an isolated dissident. Mosk was "always around the ball," as the late attorney Edward Lascher put it, crafting alliances that yielded some surprising rulings — banning toxic metals in water faucets, allowing damages for wrongful demotions, barring sub-minimum wages for waiters. He joined death penalty affirmations with only an occasional dissent, reserving his ardor for disagreements with decisions that discarded longstanding precedents, many of them his own.

Though usually labeled the Court's only liberal, Mosk lined up with the most conservative justices on two of the biggest cases of the last decade: the Proposition 209 decision and a challenge to a state law requiring parental consent for minors' abortions. He wrote a 4-3 ruling upholding the abortion law in 1996, rejecting arguments that it violated the state constitutional right of privacy, then dissented when the Court, with two new appointees of Republican Governor Pete Wilson, granted a rehearing and overturned the law.

But Mosk's contribution to the current Court, and its predecessors, extends beyond any of his opinions. In an institution that seems to have regained its footing after years of ideological swings, political turmoil and rapid turnover, he brought stability, continuity, and the example of a public official who loved his work and was good at it.

"He could use the force of his personality and his great intellect and his charm to bring other justices around," said Keane. "He preserved a certain amount of institutional history and passed it on to his colleagues. ...He was a messenger from the Court of Roger Traynor. He kept it alive. There's no one left doing that." 

Bob Egelko covers legal affairs for the San Francisco Chronicle. Comments regarding this article may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Is confirmed by voters for another 12-year term in a re-election that sees the defeat of Chief Justice Rose Bird and Associate Justices Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin

1986



1987

His opinion in *People v. Anderson* restores the death penalty for murders committed during other felonies even if the defendant did not intend to kill

Is confirmed by voters for another 12-year term

1998

1999

In December, becomes the longest-sitting justice in the history of the California Supreme Court

Issues his final opinion on June 14 dismissing an antitrust conspiracy suit against major oil companies, five days before his death

2001



Dems about face?

In your July issue ["Are Democrats abandoning the poor?"] you ask if Democrats are abandoning the poor. Well, some may have, but then they probably never really cared all that much about the poor in the first place. As for me, as long as I've been [Senate President] pro tem, I've worked to make it clear that, in the Senate, poor people and those advocating for poor people have the same kind of clout as the Chamber [of Commerce] or California Manufacturers Association or any of the other groups roaming the Capitol who could probably get along just fine on their own.

The record is pretty clear:

- Leveraging Governor Pete Wilson to accept increased grants and COLAs for the elderly, blind and disabled and for poor women and children on welfare in order to get his last budget passed.
- Passing legislation to keep 35,000 poor women and children in the WIC program when a spike in milk prices threatened cuts.
- Tying Governor Gray Davis' middle-class college awards to an entitlement program for CalGrant scholarships offering up to \$9600 annually for low-income students.
- Overhauling the child-support collection system so single moms owed child support have a better shot at getting their money.
- Restoring renters' tax credits; the total benefit by this time is over \$150 million.
- Providing a tax credit for low-income seniors worth \$250 million.
- \$150 million more last year for mental-health services.

The article admits it's a "reach" to say Democrats have abandoned the poor. In the California State Senate, it's more than a reach. It's just plain wrong.

John Burton
President pro Tempore
California State Senate

Rural hospital ailments

The excellent article by Emelyn Rodriguez on rural health care ["Rural Health Care: Is there a doctor in the house," April 2001] understated one point that needs greater emphasis. When rural hospitals close, so do their emergency rooms. Especially in under-served areas, emergency rooms represent a portal of entry to medical care for as much as 75 percent of the underinsured. In off-

hours, an emergency room may be virtually the sole source of medical care.

Unfortunately, California politics ignore infrastructure until a crisis arises; congratulations, the crisis is at hand.

Dr. George H. Koenig
Redwood City

I was excited to see the coverage on rural health care and rural hospitals. The donation by Orange County doctors and nurses was an exceptionally well-received gift to the greater Redding area.

But the article absolutely ignored the No. 1 problem facing rural hospitals: seismic retrofit. Trinity Hospital in Trinity County is required to spend approximately \$12 million to bring our hospital into compliance with new state standards by 2005, or face shutdown. The alternative is to submit plans for building a new hospital and be under construction in 2008. Our

hospital is nearly 50 years old and lacks much of the technological updates available over the last five decades. Your article offers an Rx in the sidebar [on telemedicine]. However, we need to triage the

patient. Once we recognize the heart is failing, we can then deal with blood gushing out.

I am being a little facetious, but I do have a genuine concern for Trinity Hospital and other rural hospitals in California.

Chris Erikson, Trinity County
Supervisor
Weaverville

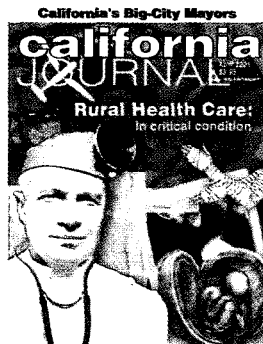
March Fong Eu Redress

I don't know enough to comment on Ms. Fong's politics ["The Comeback Kid," May, 2001], but to say, "the fact that she is an attractive Oriental female probably was more important in giving her a margin over her Republican opponent Brian R. Van Camp of 1.26 million votes," is a cheap and sexist shot, whether it was said today or in 1974.

No one says, [Assemblymen] Kevin Shelly, or Joe Nation get votes because of their good looks. If you can't explain her success then just say that.

Kasmir J. Zaratkiewicz
Petaluma

Editor's Note: We thought it was worth recapitulating earlier coverage of her race in 1974 to illustrate the barriers — both journalistic and political — she faced at that time. We did not reiterate the statement as a commentary on her candidacy then or today.



Energy stories, big and small

The California power crisis is a Big Story. But there are hundreds of small stories that illuminate the complexity of crafting a solution to the problem of energy supply and demand.

Before California's energy crunch, licensing power plants was a months-long, complicated process. Early this year Governor Gray Davis ordered a 21-day, fast-track licensing procedure for peaker plants used to produce power during periods of peak energy use. In May, a proposal was submitted to build Baldwin Energy Facility No. 1 on an expedited basis. A joint venture of La Jolla Energy Development Incorporated and Stocker Resources, the small plant would sit in the middle of a working oil field leased by Stocker, but within the boundaries of a area designated for a 1,200-acre state park in the Baldwin Hills — the last, large undeveloped open space in the urbanized portion of Los Angeles County. Said Esther Feldman, president of Community Conservancy International, a park activist group, "This power plant is the only one on Davis' emergency list in or near a park. Why us, and why here?"

The Baldwin Hills were once a part of the 4000-acre Rancho La Cienega and were the site of the 1932 Olympic Village. In 1963, a deadly urban flood occurred when the Baldwin Hills Dam burst and sent water cascading down the hillsides and lowlands between Rodeo Road and La Cienega Boulevard. The Reservoir was filled and, in 1984, became the site of the Olympic Forest, planted with trees and shrubs from each nation participating in the Summer Games held in Los Angeles. Today the Hills are home to the 370-acre Kenneth Hahn Recreation Area.

But "Baldwin Hills" connotes more than a geographic location. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, of the approximately 45,000 people who live there — in the unincorporated communities of View Park, Windsor Hills and Ladera Heights and in the City of Los Angeles and Baldwin Hills proper — 76 percent are black. Twenty percent of the area's residents live below the federal poverty line. However, several enclaves around Baldwin Hills constitute one of the wealthiest black communities in the nation. It is an activist community with significant political clout. These Baldwin Hills neighbors and their elected representatives joined with envi-

ronmentalists and civil rights activists to oppose the power project.

Many saw opposition as a matter of "environmental justice." A letter from the California Energy Commission to state Senator Kevin Murray (D-Culver City) indicated that six of the nine peakers approved as of June 6 were sited in predominantly non-white areas. A coalition of homeowners groups argued "the site of the proposed plant is located in the heart of one of the most dense urban communities in Los Angeles County" in the center of communities of color which are often singled out to receive a disproportionate share of projects that pose significant risks to physical and cultural health.

The state energy commissioner who presided over the angry, jam-packed public hearings recommended rejection of the project, largely because of air-quality concerns. The strong opposition prompted La Jolla Energy to abandon the Baldwin Hills peaker. "We listened to the community," La Jolla President Steve Wilburn told the *Times*.

Just after the Baldwin Hills application was scrubbed, CENCO Electric, owned by evangelist Pat Robertson, submitted a proposal to build an emergency peaker in Santa Fe Springs in southwest Los Angeles County,

to be sited at the shuttered Powerline refinery, located within two blocks of a school in a heavily Latino neighborhood. The blue-collar town of 17,000 is 71 percent Latino and not nearly as affluent or organized as the Baldwin Hills community. But here, too, a coalition of residents and civil rights activists scrambled to hit the streets in opposition, once again raising environmental and safety concerns and objecting to another minority-area siting. The state Energy Commission quickly rejected Robertson's bid, ruling the proposed plant was too small to qualify for fast-track approval.

The derailment of the Baldwin Hills peaker and the successful opposition to the Santa Fe plant send a message, as both government and the private sector grapple with our energy future: Think sensibly. And don't assume the "energy crisis" will cause communities to let down their guard on the impact of new power plants. 🏠

Contributing Editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is a senior scholar at the University of Southern California. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

by Sherry
Bebitch Jeffe



California's energy czar

He is the man that Governor Gray Davis is betting will help lift Davis and his state out of the political and administrative morass that has become the California energy crisis. For some, the governor's confidence is well-placed, for S. David Freeman brings to his job an unparalleled resume' and a list of public-sector achievements most presidential candidates could not match. Yet, he is not without his critics. And although he is and has been much in the media, the full portrait of him remains vague. Love him or hate him, Freeman — at age 75 — most

At an age when most people have retired, 75-year-old S. David Freeman takes on the demanding job of breathing life into the state's public-power authority and helping the man who gave him that task — Governor Gray Davis — stave off political disaster, for himself and for California.

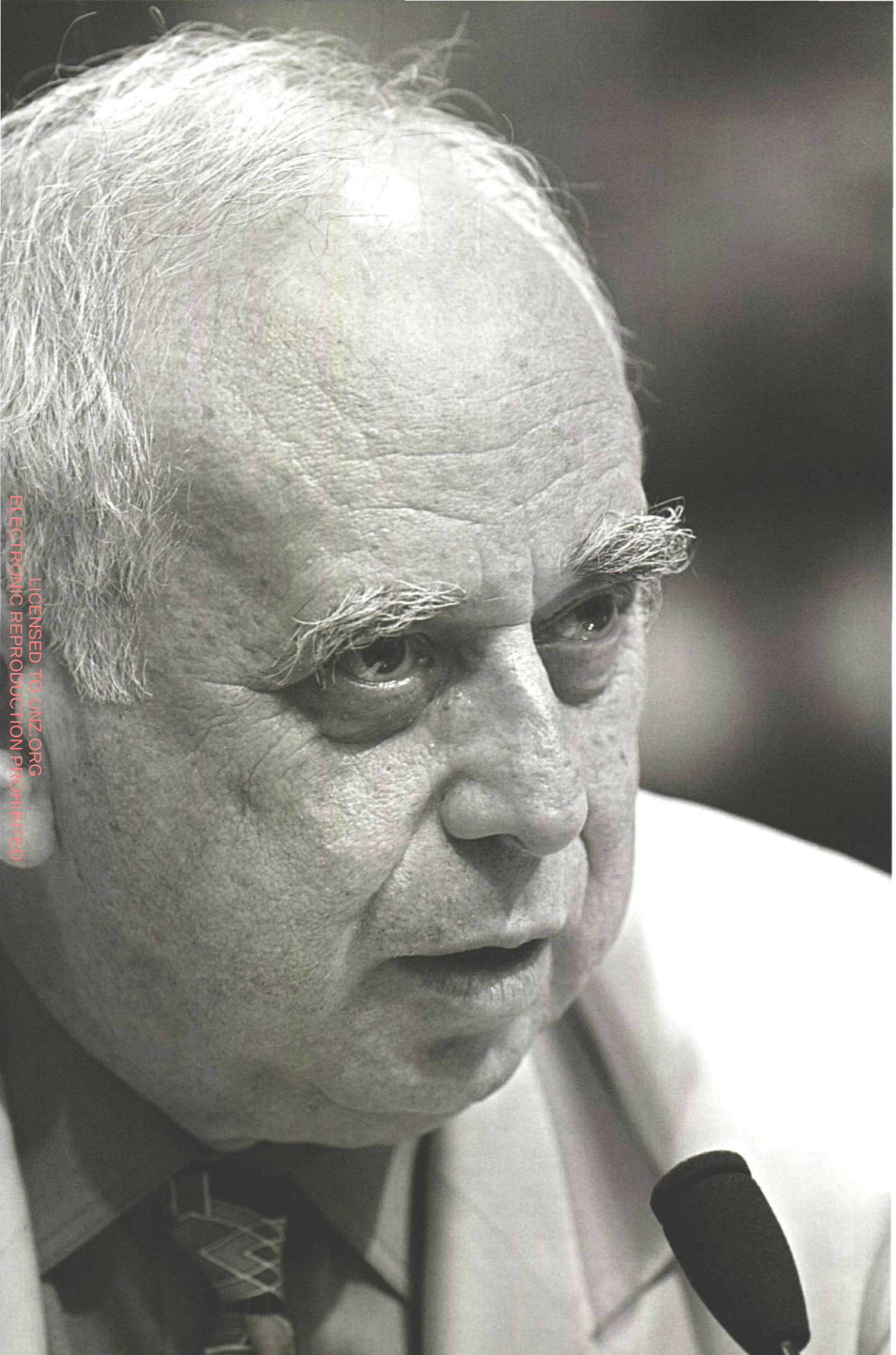
By Richard Nemec

likely will be tapped to head the state's first-ever public power authority.

Publicly, Freeman is likeable, quotable and — most of all — successful. Privately, however, his detractors portray him as sometimes vain, crude and power-hungry, and as someone who will do anything to get what he wants in the name of the public good.

Two points are clear about Governor Davis' new energy czar: Wherever he works, he makes a discernable difference (good or bad) and wherever he goes, news media and publicity seem to follow in the wake of political controversy. And as is sometimes true of other visionary and successful leaders, Freeman can be the quintessential son-of-a-bitch to those who try to manage or work under him.

"When you look at the guy's experience and understanding of the issues, he is in a category all by himself," says Gary Mauro, an Austin, Texas-based attorney and former Texas Lands Commissioner. "The only stunning thing is that someone can convince him to work at 75. The guy has a great ability to understand what all the resources are and how to allocate them so you can, in fact, provide affordable energy to all Americans. There isn't a shortage of energy; there is just a misallocation of energy. ...If there



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Freeman representing the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power heads up the kickoff for the "Cool Schools" energy program at Magruder School in 1998. (This photo and page 38 photos courtesy of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power)

ever was a guy who brought a resumé to the table that was made to solve California's energy problem, it was David Freeman."

Wily and seemingly fearless in the face of powerful economic and political forces, Freeman takes on the state's top energy role after almost a year in which electricity and natural gas supply and price issues have dominated California's political and news agendas. Partisan politics on various sides of the issue have hardened and economic impacts on the state have worsened, increasing tension between the state and federal governments.

California, with the world's fifth largest economy and with one-time record budget surpluses, now finds itself trying to regain its economic and political momentum as the governor struggles to resurrect his political future, which seemed all but assured before the outset of last summer's free fall in wholesale energy markets. The state is now firmly entrenched in the energy business, buying an average of \$50 million of electricity daily, something Davis wants changed as he runs for re-election over the next 12 to 18 months.

Freeman, fresh from a successful

gig with the nation's largest local government-run utility, the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, answered the governor's call for help. He left his Los Angeles post for what was supposed to be a five-week stint to head up the state's effort to ink long-term energy contracts. On May 1, the five weeks expanded into something more permanent with the governor's appointment.

The stakes are bigger now because Davis' political future, not to mention the state's economy, are riding on how well Freeman does his job. It is a major-league responsibility for the Chattanooga, Tennessee native, who holds both engineering and law degrees and who masks worldly sophistication behind homespun aphorisms and trademark cowboy hat and boots.

"David is extraordinarily knowledgeable, with vast expertise and experience, and most importantly, he is not afraid to speak his mind and take strong positions," says Peter Keat, an elected member of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District Board of Directors. Keat worked with Freeman during the latter's tenure as head of SMUD from 1990 to 1994. "I think that is desperately needed." Having once

helped hire Freeman, Keat admits to being a big admirer.

But not everyone is so enamored of Freeman.

"He is a legend in his own mind," says a former top-ranking executive at LADWP, who was one of the hundreds of career professionals Freeman forced out of the public-sector utility (with generous severance packages) in 1997-98. When he took the reins at LADWP, Freeman engaged in a massive housecleaning of what was at the time a floundering enterprise. "He is obviously very smart, and the overall results he has enjoyed throughout his career have been positive. But along the way, he has done things that would not cause him to be elected to the top 10 of caring people" or be known as people-oriented, said the

ousted colleague.

Another former public power executive, and engineer, who has worked closely with Freeman, likens him to the physics phenomenon called "the venturi effect," which can suck a person down in the wake of a rapidly sinking ship. "David reminded me of the 'venturi;' you simply got swept along by the force of his passing, whether you were a willing participant or not," said the former colleague.

A mission impossible

Contradictions and controversy are music to the ears of S. David Freeman, keeping him focused and motivated at an age when most people have retired. He says he gets bored unless he has a mission impossible.

No problem providing *that* kind of challenge.

Consider a spring day shortly after Freeman's return to Sacramento. A second Wall Street rating agency had lowered ratings on California's \$20 billion-plus debt, and ratepayers were in revolt against the state Public Utilities Commission for dishing out the largest electricity rate increase in the state's history. Naysayers seemed to be everywhere, claiming the state would

not make it through the summer.

As blackouts threatened the economy state Treasurer Phil Angelides sent out scary predictions of financial ruin if the wholesale spot price of electricity this fall averages more than \$195 per megawatt-hour. Pressed by skeptical reporters, Freeman told the *Wall Street Journal*: "All this stuff about the [state's] economy going under is a bunch of hogwash," evoking one of his unvarnished descriptors.

There has been more vintage David Freeman since his appointment. Within weeks, a public political brouhaha akin to a food fight broke out between the governor and state Controller Kathleen Connell, a Democrat who ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Los Angeles and who is touted as a potential challenger to Davis in 2002. Connell began the donnybrook when she questioned whether the state's general fund would ever be repaid the billions of dollars of state money the Davis administration was spending to buy electricity. Furthermore, she called attention to what she perceived as weaknesses in the state's power contracts and questioned a bond sale meant to repay the general fund.

Connell's challenges prompted an expected response from the Davis administration. A quartet of the governor's button-down financial advisers were plugged into a conference call with the media, trying to discredit Connell's latest press release broadside. While they were tiptoeing around the politics, Freeman broke in.

"Let me just comment on the controller's barrage of criticisms, and I think it has to be evaluated as a barrage," Freeman told reporters. "First, she says we don't have any [electric supply] contracts that amount to a hill of beans. She says we don't have very much under contract. Well, she is wrong."

While the governor's top advisers sat quietly Freeman lambasted Connell for playing politics and for issuing "attack-dog press releases" before consulting with the administration. He jumped on her inconsistencies and unawareness of the state's signed power deals and the impending \$12.5 billion state bond offering—

the largest public sector bond sale ever.

It was a vintage performance for Freeman, who as a "turnaround specialist," is often imported to deal with an already dicey situation. As a result, he makes enemies as readily as friends and is no stranger to controversy. He calls it getting bad people to do good things.

A political foray

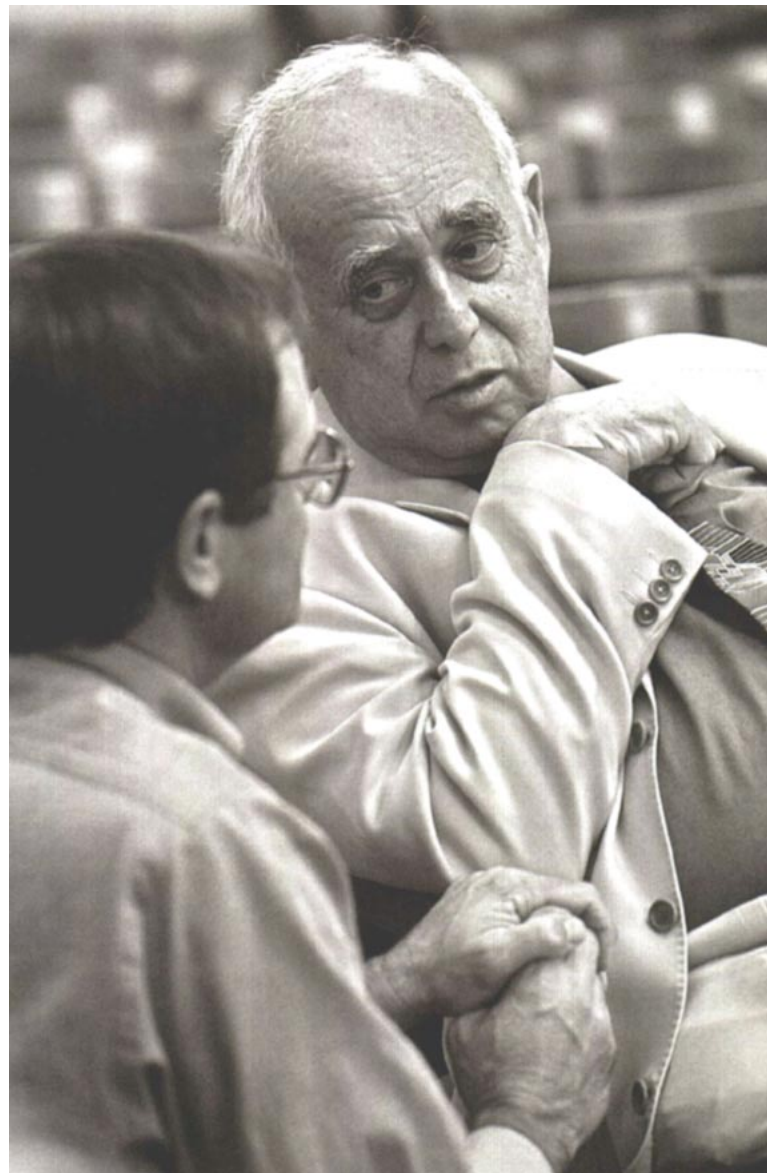
Back in 2000, before energy smashed its way into the state's political consciousness, Freeman tried his hand at running for office by seeking an Assembly seat from suburban Los Angeles. It was a bit of bad timing. Had the energy crisis exploded before — rather than after — that election, Freeman might have parlayed his energy expertise and reputation into an election victory. Instead, he lost the primary to fellow Democrat Jan Pavley, who now represents the area in Sacramento.

Despite the loss, Freeman's campaign produced a revealing piece of personal literature in the form of a 58-page, soft-cover autobiography where Freeman cited a pair of energy books he had written, both published in 1974: "Energy, The New Era;" and a Ford Foundation report, "A Time to Choose." He also recalled his days as a Democratic holdover in the first Nixon ad-

ministration, saying that Republicans didn't really care about the environment, yet they did environmentally good things because it made good political sense.

"You can do good things for political reasons," Freeman wrote, revealing his lifetime philosophy as both a pragmatist and an idealist.

While chairman of the nation's first massive public-power authority, the Tennessee Valley Authority, Freeman shut down eight of 13 nuclear power plants under development but yet to be completed. He points to the shut-downs as his major accomplishment at TVA. Years later at SMUD he oversaw the shutdown of the Rancho



Current energy czar conferring with state Senator Steve Peace, the architect of California's deregulation legislation.



Freeman touring a generating plant with school children accompanied by former Los Angeles Mayor Riordan and state Senator Richard Alarcon.

Seco nuclear plant.

The SMUD board had hired Freeman in 1990 on a bare 3-2 vote at a time when the utility was in trouble, according to Keat. His first accomplishment was to convince its customers to give SMUD a second chance, and his technique was to be consumer friendly. Keat remembers one vintage David Freeman incident early in his tenure involving a customer who publicly complained about SMUD's poor service. Freeman showed up with a yellow rose at her front door, asking her forgiveness and signaling that a new day, with a new leader, had begun for Sacramento electric utility customers.

So far, Freeman as the state energy czar, has no discernable political enemies. He has good rapport with state legislators on both sides of aisle, and a pair of Republican-oriented energy industry CEOs — Enron's Ken Lay and AES corporation's Roger Sant — both made political contributions to his Assembly campaign. Then-Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, a Republican who hired him at LADWP, squabbles with Freeman periodically over the electricity crisis and the city's past-due power bills to the state but overall gives him high marks.

While the two jostled publicly over some environmental and power supply issues surrounding LADWP's

interests in major out-of-state, coal-fired electric generating plants, Riordan maintains that Freeman deserves an "A+" grade for his four-year tenure with the city. For his part, Freeman resented the high-profile way the mayor injected himself into the city utility's business[es] and for pushing Freeman out as general manager almost immediately upon the public announcement of his new state role. The head of the LADWP electrical workers union (6,000 employees), Brian D'Arcy, was quoted by the *Los Angeles Times* as complaining about what he called the tacky way Freeman was pushed out.

Visionary powers

No one, including Riordan, questions that Freeman is a visionary when it comes to the energy industry. In July 1998, Freeman was interviewed for a regional public investment newsletter, *Metro Investment Report*, where he shrugged off assertions that public power was near the end of its useful life given the rising tide of market-based energy solutions. Freeman proved to be not only a strong defender of public power but also an accurate prognosticator of today's energy environment.



Freeman with Riordan and Alarcon touting the Department of Water and Power's stable rates.

"Public power is actually growing, and when the full range of market abuses — which are inherent in the competitive industry — start taking place, you're going to find more and more communities looking to public power," Freeman said in the article. "There's a whole new era coming up, and the role of public power may very well go back to fundamentals, simply being the consumer protector in an era when the private companies are trying to pick their pockets."

Freeman now must apply that insight to the state's first public power authority, a job that will require political skill as well as vision, for the authority potentially will replace, duplicate or irritate existing operations in three other state entities: the Public Utilities Commission, the Energy Commission and the Water Resources Department.

Those familiar with both Freeman and the energy industry believe he will succeed. Mike Peevey, former presi-

dent of Southern California Edison and an energy entrepreneur, said Freeman has the right attributes as the governor's top energy adviser, calling him smart, focused, and a master at cutting to the chase and making tough decisions. He is the perfect person for the job at this time, says Peevey, who earlier this year joined with Freeman to help Davis negotiate power deals for the state.

Peevey also knows that Freeman's biggest challenge may have nothing to do with energy itself but with control over his own schedule. Freeman, Peevey warns, cannot be successful if the governor and his staff toss their new energy czar into every firefight, such as the recent scrap with the state controller. He also could be found as a participant in nearly every news conference call last spring, as hopes faded for a global agreement to bring price relief in the face of mounting peak-load shortages. He was there because he knew the subject, spoke the loudest and provided the sound bites reporters crave.

"He has been walking the talk every step of his life; he has been preaching conservation since the 1970s, when he did the Ford Foundation study and wrote his book," says Angelina Galiteva, his strategist for conservation and renewable energy programs at LADWP. Galiteva first met Freeman as a graduate student in environmental law in New York City when he was running that state's power authority in the mid-1990s. "You can read his book today and it is still relevant."

She noted that Freeman is the ideal person to face down another perfect storm in the breadth and shape of this summer's electricity blackouts and price wars because he can make things happen. She makes no attempt to hide her strong admiration for a man in whose footsteps she tries to follow when it comes to sustainable, environmentally sensitive energy use.

"David is an extreme visionary who works very well in a crisis," Galiteva said. "He can take a complex situation and unravel it like nobody else, and put it back together where it makes optimum sense. He is exactly

what the state needs. They couldn't pick a better person. He has stood for conservation, and we do need to conserve; and we do need to increase our supply, and he will be effective on both those fronts, I am sure."

But not every LADWP employee glows over Freeman. One former senior executive, who left during Freeman's first 18 months on the job, remembers that he likes programs that offer him a chance to take a public leadership role, so he is positioned strongly as a leader outside of his immediate organization.

"David was more ruthless," the former municipal utility executive remembers. "He captured the press, and somewhat intimidated the mayor and council to the extent that they didn't dare take him on in public because he could go to the [Los Angeles] Times or the Daily News."

"His personality is such that he can go to the news media a lot easier than many elected officials. He could beat them at their game, and they knew it."

Governor Davis credits Freeman with negotiating the state's long-term power contracts without much leverage, but instead using sheer guile, guts and force of will. In return, Freeman has begun his weeks as the state's

top energy adviser, drawing on war analogies that are music to the ears of World War II Merchant Marine veterans such as himself.

"We're at war with the out-of-state gougers," Freeman told a Los Angeles audience of state employees celebrating energy reduction success at their downtown office complex.

That bit of Pattonesque rhetoric aside, it will be difficult to measure Freeman's impact this summer. Key indicators may be fewer-than-expected rolling blackouts; easing of wholesale prices; restoration of the two ailing private sector utilities; greater-than-expected conservation results; and ever-more power plants.

Freeman's supporters say he will make a difference in all of these areas. His detractors predict that even if results are not so hot, Freeman will profit. He is, if nothing else, a master at taking a mish-mash of other peoples' programs and turning them into public relations and political successes for himself. 

Richard Nemec is a Los Angeles-based writer who covers energy for several national trade publications. His last article for California Journal appeared in the January 2001 issue. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

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George W. Bush and the California GOP

There were high hopes last year that the new president would revitalize a California Republican Party that had been demoralized by internal rifts and election failure. But Bush's response to the state's energy crisis has opened the question of whether the former Texas governor is an asset or a liability.

By Dana Wilkie



The mood at the California state Republican convention last February was sour. Democrats had just strengthened their grip on the state Legislature in the fall election, and a Democratic governor would preside over this year's redrawing of political boundaries. Only one Republican held statewide office, and the cast of 2002 GOP gubernatorial hopefuls looked weak. With things so bleak in Sacramento that convention weekend, it was not surprising that some looked east for inspiration.



Illustration by Sandra Hoover

On the other coast reigned a star Republican who enjoyed a 62 percent approval rating. He was trotting along with his tax cut, beating up on public enemies like Saddam Hussein and getting continued mileage from his "compassionate conservatism" campaign slogan.

In short, he was a better figurehead for California Republicans than anyone in California.

"George W. Bush," GOP analyst Allan Hoffman declared during the GOP gathering, "is chairman of the California Republican Party."

Given that the state GOP was prepared at that moment to anoint movie star — and novice politician — Arnold Schwarzenegger as its gubernatorial candidate, there's no doubt California Republicans badly needed a unifying

Before November 2002 rolls around,
the California GOP badly needs a figurehead
who is popular and inspiring,
someone who can motivate
and help raise money
during this dry spell.



Bruce Cain, director of the
Institute of Governmental
Studies



U.S. Transportation Secretary Norm Minetta

figure. And at that moment, George W. looked like a solution with no downside for a party beset by internal rifts between conservatives and moderates and flogged by its Democratic rival in three straight elections.

But since that February convention, California's energy troubles have

after his tepid response to the crisis. Moreover, the president is a Texan inextricably linked with the big energy producers who have profited from the state's misfortunes. Thus, a few cracks have appeared on the way to making him a GOP poster boy.

Even so, Bush still may represent the Republican Party's best rally point.

As bad as the president's poll numbers seem now — a recent *Los Angeles Times* survey found that 47 percent of California voters disapproved of his job performance — it is still a long 16 months, and many more polls, before Republicans face voters again. Before November 2002 rolls around, the California GOP badly needs a figurehead who is popular and inspiring, someone who can motivate and help raise money during this dry spell. Secretary of State Bill Jones is the GOP's lone statewide elected official and, so far, the party's chief gubernatorial candidate. Though competent and courtly, Jones is not a commanding figure, and he irked many party officials in 2000 by endorsing Bush rival U.S. Senator John McCain in the presidential primaries.

In addition to Jones, two other names have surfaced as potential gubernatorial contenders — entrepreneur William Simon Jr., who has all but declared, and former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, who is think-

ing it over. Riordan, who turned the reins of Los Angeles government over to successor James Hahn on July 2, has personally been wooed by the White House.

"There's a potential for quite a strong Republican base in this state," said Ann Crigler, associate political science professor at the University of Southern California. "It's not as if there aren't enough Republicans, because there are. But with the absence of many Republicans in the Legislature, and with only one statewide elected Republican official, it's difficult to have a sense of momentum."

GOP strategist Sal Russo believes that if the state party needs anything right now, it needs to associate with a president whose make-nice, moderate rhetoric might help shave the intolerant edge off the state party's image. The open question at this point is whether Bush's performance to date marks him as that kind of president. But clearly, some Republicans believe that Bush has the potential to rally the party.

"From the heyday of [California Governors Ronald] Reagan and [George] Deukmejian, we've been on somewhat of a steady decline, and we have not had an overriding personality that could transcend those problems," Russo said. "George W. Bush has come around with a much more positive, upbeat message. ...He can redefine what it means to be a California Republican."

Tony Quinn, another GOP analyst, said Bush's tax cut could win the loyalty of many Republicans in California, where incomes are relatively high.

But despite Bush's mantra as a "compassionate conservative," his first months in office have seen him lurch to the right, and there is the risk that

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voters — including Republican voters — may grow disillusioned the more he appears to steer the national party to the right on issues such as abortion, defense and the environment.

"As an example for the state of California, he's not a good one," said Bruce Cain, director of the University of California, Berkeley's, Institute of Governmental Studies. "His policies are just not a formula for success in this state."

And if Republicans perceive that the president has been tepid about helping California with its energy crisis, they could ultimately blame him for rolling blackouts and high electricity costs. It would be especially damaging to Bush if the perception remains that he turned a deaf ear to California while some of his political allies in the energy industry — including Texas-based Enron Corporation — manipulated the energy market and piled up huge profits at the expense of California.

"[Bush] got a lot of [campaign] money out of California [in 2000], and Silicon Valley is not going to be amused if their energy is shut off periodically over the summer," Cain said. "Republicans are pretty careful about losing money."

Energy aside, the Bush administration has taken other steps that may not endear him to the Golden State. For instance, his proposed 2002 budget cut \$135 million of federal support for jailing undocumented criminals, a big hit to border states like California. It revived a plan that a united California delegation had beaten back just nine months earlier — one forcing the state to cover schools, jails and other public buildings with quake insurance if it wanted federal disaster assistance in the future. At a time when California is being hit by sky-high electricity costs, these gestures struck some as hostile.

President Bush's budget addressed California's energy crisis by investing heavily in domestic production, but it gave short shrift to alternative power sources and conservation programs — a particular affront to green-minded California. It seemed onerous on top of Bush's early refusal to direct his

Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to cap runaway electricity prices — something most California Democrats and some Republicans supported. He refused to ask Americans to limit fuel consumption, nor did he call for a cut in the federal 18.4-cents-a-gallon gasoline tax, though Shell and Chevron dealers in California were being told to prepare for gas prices that could reach \$3 a gallon this summer.

Adding insult, Vice President Dick Cheney refused to let Californians join a spring meeting of West Coast lawmakers about the energy crisis, and he and Bush made various remarks insinuating California was to blame for its crisis, and should fight its energy battles alone.

Meeting in Los Angeles and San Jose in early May, several GOP governors defended Bush's handling of energy issues. Republican Governors Association Vice Chairman John Rowland of Connecticut told California to "get out of denial and work towards productive, constructive energy solutions." Arizona Governor Jane

Dee Hull said Bush had "gone to extraordinary lengths" to help California, and that California now had to help itself.

Such remarks only highlighted the tensions between the administration and the California GOP.

Finally, at a time when state Republicans sorely needed a popular president to rally dejected troops, Bush failed to make even one post-election appearance in the state until a clamor arose over his supposed "neglect" of California. After the president unveiled his energy policy in mid-May, he bypassed California — where energy is such an urgent topic — and promoted his plan in three other states.

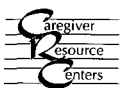
Bush spokesman Ken Lisaius pointed to those things Bush has done to help with the crisis and defended the president's three-state tour. "What the president is talking about is a national energy policy," Lisaius said. "It's not specific to any one state versus another."

In the meantime, Democrats stepped into the gap, sending high-



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"[Republicans] should have viewed [the 2000 election] as an emergency, and should have immediately begun major registration drives and... had at least \$5 million ready for reapportionment referendums and lawsuits."
— Political Consultant Tony Quinn

profile Senator Joe Lieberman to California, where the former vice presidential candidate publicly called on Bush to do something to help California's energy crisis and urged FERC to impose temporary caps on the wholesale price of electricity.

Perhaps annoyed that a former campaign rival took the lead, Bush finally flew to California for a May meeting with Governor Gray Davis that produced little but competing press conferences.

Some speculated that Bush had resigned himself to being unable to win California in 2004. Others said he held a grudge against a state that voted overwhelmingly for Bush rival Al Gore, despite the \$22 million and many visits that Bush lavished on the Golden State. Or that Bush remained angry at California Republicans who had insisted that the money and appearances would convince Californians to elect a pro-gun, pro-tobacco, pro-life candidate to the White House.

"I think there's a very strong desire that California should be made an example, that this energy mess is of our own doing," said GOP analyst Quinn, "to prove that the 30 years of NIMBY-ism and eco-freakism has left us with a state that has not produced enough freeways, water and, now, not enough energy."

Whether Bush's neglect was calculated, benign or even temporary, state Republicans worried that it did further damage to a GOP struggling to redefine itself in California.

"He's a [California Party] leader who completely ignores the California Republican Party," Cain said.

Others argued that Bush is investing in the state party.

"I think California is getting a fair shake," said Norm Mineta, the long-

time California Democratic congressman who is now Bush's transportation secretary. "I don't know how people can say he's neglecting the state with three members of his Cabinet" from California. Besides Mineta, Bush appointed Ann Veneman to be agriculture secretary and Tony Principi as veterans affairs secretary.

Bush defenders noted that the president addressed the state's power crisis by making it easier to license power plants and by requiring federal buildings to conserve electricity. He sent his energy secretary to the state. And his vice president — Cheney — sat down for an uninterrupted hour with California Republicans to get their ideas on shaping a national energy policy (see "D.C. Perspective," page 46). Eventually, Cheney even met with California Democrats to talk about energy, but not until after Bush announced his national energy policy.

In addition, the Republican National Committee sent John Peschong to the state party headquarters in Burbank in an effort to professionalize the party apparatus and to do some housecleaning. Peschong let some people go, tightened the budget and insisted on regular business hours, as many party staffers were part timers who showed up irregularly. Under the new regime, the party is staging eight hearings in California so Republicans can air their thoughts. It surveyed Republicans about making changes to the party structure. Bush adviser Gerald Parsky and Peschong are now recruiting candidates nationwide for key party positions and training county activists on how to get voters to the polls and increase party registration.

Bush's visit, his efforts on the energy front, and his willingness to commit Parsky to the party-rebuilding ef-

forts — all signal that the president is trying, to some degree, to be a motivational figure for California Republicans.

But the president does not seem to be doing enough beyond motivational exercises to help prepare the party for the nuts-and-bolts job of competing with Democrats in 2002 and beyond. For instance, there was little evidence that Bush and national Republican operations were investing much money to help California with possible redistricting lawsuits or with the 2002 election.

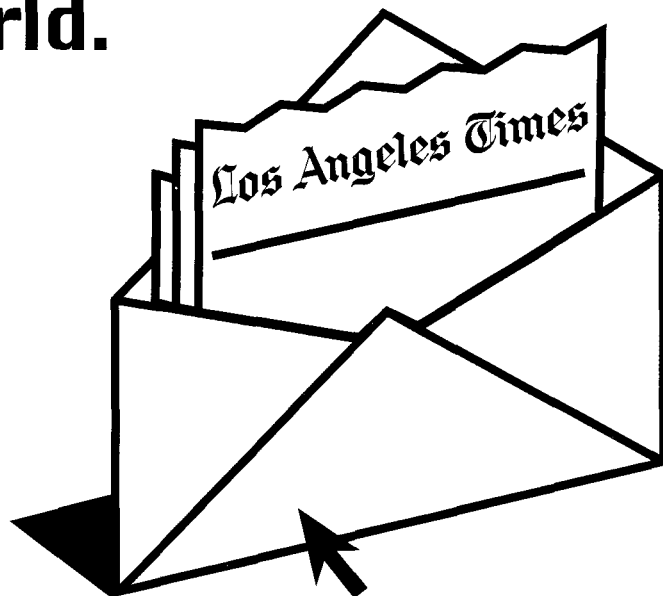
"You can find no sign that they are preparing politically for the basic things they ought to be doing," Quinn said. "They are behind. They should have viewed [the 2000 election] as an emergency, and should have immediately begun major registration drives and... had at least \$5 million ready for reapportionment referendums and lawsuits."

Parsky promised that money for next year's election and for redistricting will come from the national GOP "once we demonstrate to the donor community that we are taking a professional approach and learning from our past."

"It is difficult for Republicans now in California," said Parsky, who was Bush's California adviser during the presidential campaign. "But we have a president who committed during the campaign to change the face of the Republican Party, in that he wants to reach out to people who may have felt excluded. We've been making a concentrated effort to continue that." 🏠

Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C. correspondent for the Copley News Service. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

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Los Angeles Times

The Republican advantage

It was the last day of April, and U.S. Representatives Jane Harman (D-Long Beach) and Bob Filner (D-San Diego) had just lunched on steak at the White House as their host — George W. Bush — praised the merits of Republicans and Democrats working together on national problems. After the meal, when the two California Democrats suggested to Bush that he invest more in wind- and sun-powered energy, the president was polite, but dismissive.

California Assembly Speaker Robert Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks) traveled to Washington that week to lobby for stricter electricity price controls. But the Democrat could not get meetings with some of D.C.'s key energy players, including commission chairman Curt Hebert and Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham.

The day after the White House luncheon, most of California's Republican delegation sat down with Vice President Dick Cheney, who for an hour, gave the lawmakers his undivided attention regarding ideas for easing California's energy crisis.

Interviews and campaign records show that if one wants a hearing on solutions to the energy crisis, one best be linked to the Bush administration by history, friendships or money. Bush is understandably more inclined to listen to Republicans, who, like him, support domestic energy production and relaxed environmental rules. But Bush also sought to play down such old-style politics while on the campaign trail — where he promised an open door and a "new tone" of bipartisanship in Washington.

"There was all this talk going in about a new kind of governing and more bipartisanship and the way [Bush] had been able to work with Texas Democrats," said Bruce Cain, director of the University of California, Berkeley's, Institute of Governmental Studies. "What makes this behavior stark is that he's clearly discovered that his only true friends are in the Republican Party."

During their Cheney meeting, California Republicans argued that Democratic Governor Gray Davis should have the freedom to turn on generators simultaneously during power emergencies. A key speaker at the gathering was U.S. Representative Duncan Hunter (R-San Diego), who wrote a bill to do just that. Hunter and Cheney worked closely together during the Persian Gulf War; Cheney as defense secretary and Hunter as a member of the House Armed Services Committee. They are friendly enough that Hunter feels free to

dial up the vice president directly. Hunter also received more than \$26,000 for his last two elections from Lockheed Martin, whose board of directors included Cheney before he became vice president.

Lockheed Martin, the world's largest defense contractor, was the top contributor to Congressman Dana Rohrabacher's recent re-election campaign; Rohrabacher is the Huntington Beach Republican who urged Cheney to support Hunter's plan, which Cheney eventually did.

The huge oil-service company Cheney once led — Dallas-based Halliburton Company — gave several thousand dollars to California Republicans on the House subcommittee that deals most closely with California energy woes: Congressional members Chris Cox (R-Newport Beach) and relative newcomer Mary Bono (R-Palm Springs) — also at the meeting with Cheney — were among them. So was U.S. Representative Ed Royce (R-Fullerton), who helped Hunter write the generator-plant bill.

Halliburton, one of the top 10 oil and gas industry donors to Congress, also gave large sums to help get congressional Republicans elected. Various Republican committees took \$153,480 from Halliburton for the 1998 election, and \$194,700 for the 2000 election.

California Democrats tried to get Cheney's attention for months to explain their views on energy. But the vice president had no time in his schedule until nearly mid-June, long after Cheney had made his energy recommendations to Bush. Pamela Barry, executive director of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation, said that during their conference with Cheney, Democrats "thought they got more of the same in that [Cheney was] not willing to help us. I think a lot of [them] are very frustrated."

On the day of his luncheon, Bush assembled his guests in the Rose Garden and told them that "we're beginning to get a spirit here in Washington where we're more agreeable, where we're setting a different tone."

"He didn't ask," Harman said. "He declared. It certainly was a pleasant couple of hours, but in many ways, I think bipartisanship is not working. And that is a huge opportunity lost." 🏠

"What makes this behavior stark is that he's clearly discovered that his only true friends are in the Republican Party."
— Bruce Cain

by Dana Wilkie



Contributing Editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for the Copley News Service. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

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